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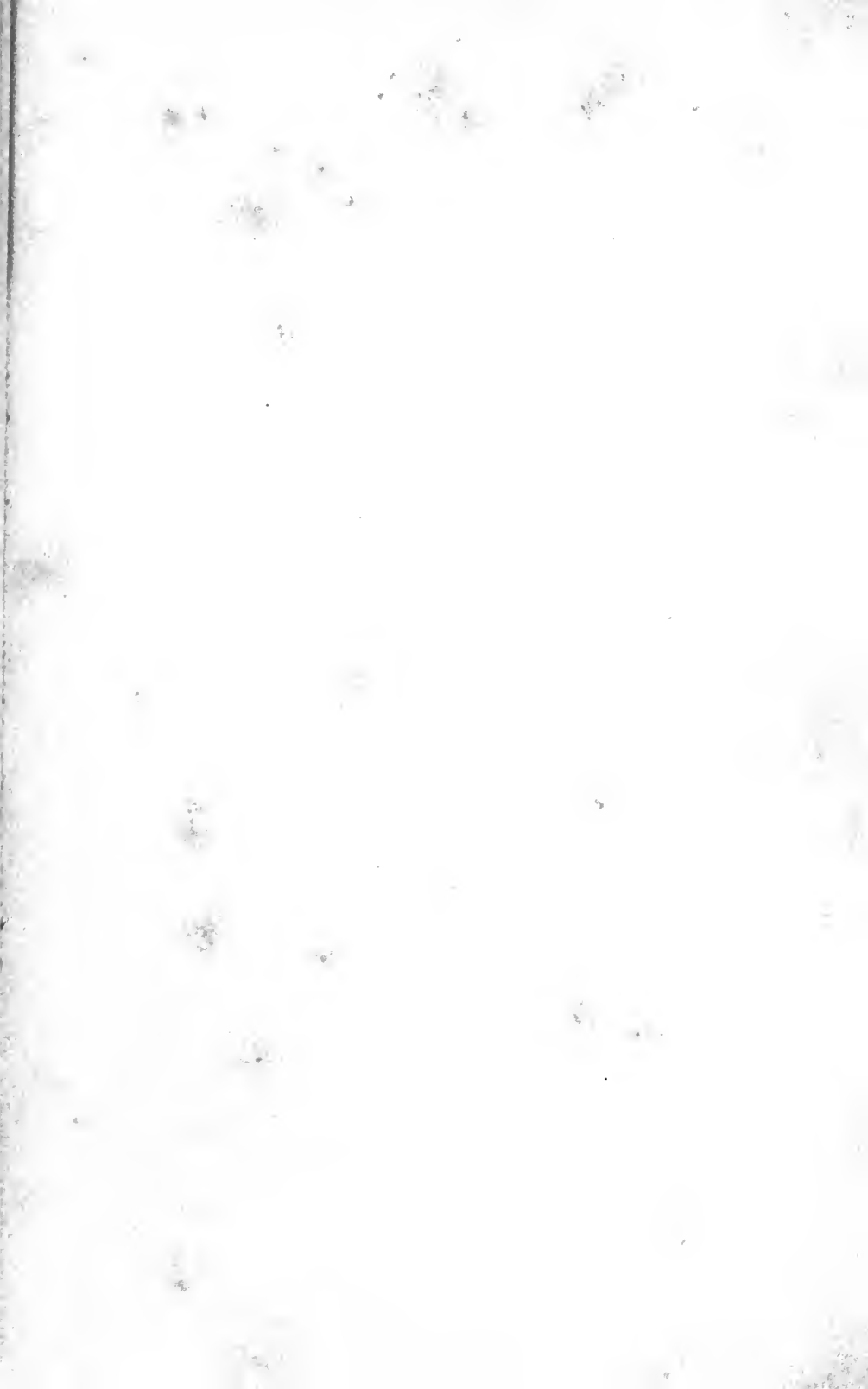
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THOUGHTS
UPON THE
FOREIGN POLICY
OF THE UNITED-STATES,
FROM 1784 TO THE INAUGURATION
OF
FRANKLIN PIERCE;
STATISTICS OF SPAIN,
OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA, &C,
BY
BERNARD MARIENY.



NEW-ORLEANS:

Printed by J. L. Pollée, 137 Chartres street.

1854.

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**To the Honorable the members of the General
Assembly of Louisiana.**

Gentlemen,

Unforeseen vicissitudes having deprived me of a considerable fortune, I have been compelled to abandon the political career which had been to me peculiarly attraction. Consigned to an office, where my duties require my presence, I have devoted a few hours of leisure to a work which, I trust, will at least shew my attachment to my native land of Louisiana, as well as my devotion to the United States of America. This work is dedicated to the General Assembly of Louisiana. Be pleased, gentlemen, favorably to accept it, as a humble pledge of my patriotism.

I remain with respect

Your Obt. Servt.

BERNARD MARIGNY.

Thoughts upon the results of the war which terminated in 1748 (peace of Aix la Chapelle), after the battle of Fontenoy—also, upon the war of 1754, closed by the treaty of the 10th of February 1763, (peace of Fontainebleau)—Influence of those wars upon the destinies of the British colonies of North America—Thoughts upon the war waged against England by France and Spain, during the struggle of the former with her North American colonies, and which was terminated by the treaty of the 3d September 1784 (peace of Paris)—Recognition of the Independence of the United States of America, by the principal powers of Europe, and subsequently by all other powers—Foreign Policy of the United States—Statistics of Spain, her population, her armies, her navy and resources; character of the Spanish people—Statistics of the Island of Cuba; elements of her population; her harbours, army, and naval armament—Means that might be employed to determine the sale of Cuba to the United States by the Court of Madrid—Thoughts upon the charges directed against the United States, by the European powers, in relation to their territorial aggrandizements—Comparative statement of these aggrandizements with those of Russia, of England, and of France under the Republican and Imperial governments—Thoughts upon the doctrine of armed intervention as urged by turbulent spirits in the United States—Moral Influences depicted, and their effects since 1784—Henry Clay in the Congress which adopted the compromise measures of 1851—His health enfeebled, his last illness, his words to Kossuth, his death—The remains of Henry Clay are carried to Kentucky; his tomb—Impressions produced on visiting it.

By Bernard Marigny, born in New Orleans on the 25th October 1785, Aid-de-Camp to Laussat, French Commissioner, when that officer received possession of Louisiana from the Spanish authorities, on the 30th November 1803, in order to transfer it to Claiborne and Wilkinson, American commissioners, on the 20th December of the same year; volunteer aid to Genl. Wilkinson in the American army from 1804 to 1808;—Member of the Convention of 1812, which framed the 1st Constitution of Louisiana;—Chairman of the Committee of defence appointed by the House of Representatives when a British army invaded Louisiana in 1814;—President of the Senate in 1822;—Member of the Convention of 1845, which gave to Louisiana a new Constitution, establishing the principles of universal suffrage, and of taxation for purposes of Public Education, as well as greater equality in other respects.



PART FIRST.

The consideration of the embarrassing circumstances that might, at some future day, befall the United States, and consequently my own native State of Louisiana, has alone induced me to publish these pages, which are the result of my study of the causes that have brought on the independence of the British Colonies now the United States of America, as well as of the tendencies of the foreign policy of our government, since the Peace of Paris in 1784. I have taken as my point of departure the battle of Fontenoy, fought and won by the French against the Anglo-Austrian army in 1745—an event which determined England to prepare for the war of 1754.

Before entering into the merits of this work, it must be remembered that the English, during the reign of Louis the 15th, lost in 1745 the battle of Fontenoy. The victory of the French over the Anglo-Austrian arms, was followed by the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, between Austria, England and France.

Louis the 15th elated by his successes, imagined that he had secured a lasting peace. He allowed the springs of his government to be loosened, neglected his navy, and bestowed but little care upon his vast possessions in North America, known by the name of New-France or Canada. This Sovereign possessed also in Northern America an immense territory beyond Canada, as well as the Isle Royal, at the entrance of the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the boundless expanse of Louisiana.

Whilst the King of France was wasting his life in luxury and voluptuous pleasures, England, meditating her vengeance, was increasing her navy, and making every necessary preparation for a dreadful war, which she could not wage against France, without encountering Spain also as a foe; for Charles the 3rd, King of Spain, detested the English, and he imagined

that his alliance with France would ruin the preponderance of England.

In 1754, quite unexpectedly to France, hostilities broke out in Canada. A British force fell upon Jumonville de Villiers, whom they massacred together with a portion of the French detachment under his command. The war between England and France, (called the seven years war) continued for five years in Canada, and two years longer in other parts of the world. The Canadians, after a most gallant contest, were conquered by the numerical superiority of their enemies; for the English having made themselves masters of the seas, precluded all reinforcements in troops or arms from France to Canada. The death of the marquis de Montcalm, in the battle of Abraham's plains, where Wolfe, the British Commander was also slain, occasioned the capitulation of Quebec in 1759. Montcalm should have awaited the reinforcements that could have been sent to his aid by General Levis, who was then in Montreal with three thousand men. But impelled by a chivalrous valour, and remembering that in the preceding year, with 3,500 men, he had defeated, at Carillon, a British force of 12,000 veterans, Montcalm sought the battle, and fell in the first onset. In this action the Canadians used the battle axe in lieu of the sword.

General de Levis, uniting the remains of Montcalm's army with his own forces, determined to attempt the recapture of Quebec by storm; he commanded about 7,000 men;—but the English, with a force of 15,000 men, had had time and means to fortify themselves, and the French failed in their attack. The two armies then resumed their respective positions. The English ventured not to attack the French—both awaiting with anxiety the fleet from the mother country which was to decide the contest. The English fleet was the first to appear, and the French authorities surrendered Canada (1760).

Spain was not more fortunate than France; she lost in the Mediterranean the island of Minorca, and port Mahon its citadel. The English also captured Havana; these successes over their two formidable foes enabled them to dictate the terms of the Peace of Fontainebleau, on the 10th of February 1764.

By this treaty France, ceded to England 1st. Canada and all her possessions north of that province; as well as the Isle Royal; —2d. beginning at the river Perdido, four leagues from Pensacola, all that part of Louisiana, comprehending the bay of Mobile, and following the coast to the entrance of Bayou Manchac in lake Maurepas; thence ascending this river to the Mississippi; thence all the left bank of the Mississippi to its sources, fixing the middle of the stream as the limit between the two nations. Spain in order to obtain the retroncession of Havana, ceded to England the Floridas, from the Perdido to Georgia.

England had reached the zenith of her glory—her ambition was gratified—she possessed North America. There remained to France only a portion of Louisiana, which was now at the mercy of the British arms. D'Abadie, the governor of that province at that time, caused the forts of Baton-Rouge, of Natchez and of Illinois, to be delivered to the English, of whose arrogance that officer complained in his letter to the Court of Versailles.

The Choctaw nation, the most numerous and the most powerful of the Indian tribes, had been the ally of the French, since the time when Iberville and others took possession of Louisiana in 1699. But this nation being settled on a part of the territory which had been transferred to England, it became impossible to France to secure the permanent possession of Louisiana; she therefore ceded it to Spain by the act of 1766.

Spain, at that time powerful in the new hemisphere by her vast possessions in South America, had a considerable military establishment in Mexico, and a strong garison in the Island of Cuba. The Cabinet of Madrid accepted with some hesitation these vast possessions, whose maintenance increased by at least a half million of dollars the expenditures of the Spanish monarchy. But it accepted them only from the fear that they might fall into the hands of England, and that the English would thence introduce their merchandize into the rich Spanish possessions of Mexico by the practises of smuggling, which offer such temptations to Mexicans.—This assuredly would have caused considerable injury to the manufactories of Spain. The left bank of the Mississippi therefore, from its head wa-

ters to the river Manchac, remained to England, with its navigation in common with Spain. The government of Madrid had then to support the expenditures of Louisiana—whilst England, under the pretense of purchasing the products of Spanish subjects, carried on with them a lucrative trade in contraband commodities; for she could supply them with her merchandize at a much cheaper rate, than that which was demanded for articles manufactured in Spain, and imported by Spaniards.

The successes of England over France and Spain had increased her power; but to meet the exigencies of a seven years war, the British government had exhausted its finances. After some years of repose, as a means of increasing its revenues, it undertook to establish a system of taxation upon its North American colonies. It imagined that the terror of its late victories would command obedience to its exactions among the american colonists, and a heavy duty was ordered to be levied upon tea and stamped paper.

The British government had formed a mistaken opinion of the people of these colonies—they were composed of the choicest elements. The persecution of protestantism in England had induced men of education to emigrate with their capital and energies to New England; the catholics oppressed in their turn, also sought refuge in these regions; and the revocation of the edict of Nantes, decreed by Louis the 14th in 1685, had occasioned the settlement of many lutherans and calvinists in the British colonies.

Amid this population, schools and colleges had been established. It was in their aspirations for liberty, that these communities were destined to produce, not only soldiers, but the most distinguished chieftains, statesmen, and orators. The Americans first addressed their remonstrances to the mother-country, in regard to the course it was pursuing towards the colonies; but their complaints however reasonable were disregarded. The British government ordered its troops to America, and raised further recruits among the Hessians and in other german States. The news of these menacing preparations having reached New England, discontent arose

into general indignation, and bloodshed soon followed. Then arose a citizen, who afterwards rendered himself immortal in the eyes of his countrymen and of all men who value liberty—Thomas Jefferson presented to the congress assembled in Philadelphia the *Declaration of Independence*, which was adopted on the 4th of July 1776!—masterpiece of morality and eloquence! destined to equal among the people of America, the effects of the Gospel among christians. The Americans felt themselves invincible; and George Washington, a native of Virginia, whose name is immortal, was proclaimed commander in chief of the American armies. Having been an officer in the service of England in America, he was destined to conquer those who had taught him the art of war.

When the declaration of independance became known in France, the nobility and gentry declared themselves in favor of war against England. Lafayette, a young nobleman, embarked for America. He became there the apostle of liberty, and his letters increased the enthousiasm of the French. Under these circumstances, Franklin was deputed to Paris, where his talents and his simple and engaging manners made him welcome and agreeable in all classes of society. Seduced by Franklin, Mr. de Vergennes, then prime minister of Louis the 16th, persuaded that monarch to join in the war against England. The king of France himself was however disinclined to it: he said that it was immoral to sustain subjects who had revolted against their mother-country.

In Spain, the ministry was inclined to disapprove the war; but Charles the 3d pronounced himself in its favor. This monarch, who had commenced his career in the Neapolitan armies joined with those of Spain, to rescue a portion of Italy from the Austrians, was still influenced by a great hatred to the English. The count of Aranda, a head strong Arragoneze, eloquent and sometimes arrogant, protested against the war proposed to be waged against England. He maintained that the establishment of a Republic in North America was calculated to attract hither, all the discontented spirits in the monarchies of old Europe. That a great nation would arise

there, whose moral influence would become dangerous to the Spanish possessions in America. Charles the 3d whose power was great in Europe as well as in America, laughed at what he termed the "panic terror" of the count d'Aranda. The count of Florida Blanca joined in the opinion of the king of Spain; and so far from persuading France into neutrality, the cabinet of Madrid intimated to that of Versailles, that Spain was disposed to unite her arms with those of France, to secure the independence of the United States of America.

War was therefore commenced. Spain captured the island of Minorca, and the citadel of Mahon. Galvez marched to Manchac and Baton Rouge in west Florida, and took possession of those territories. The British commander surrendered to the Spaniards the fort of Natchez, whose command was then given to Don Carlos de Grandpré, one of the most distinguished men I have met with. Galvez then directed his march to Mobile, took possession of the old fort Condé, and from success to success, he appeared before the fort of St. Michel, at Pensacola, which he took by storm.

Less fortunate in this war than Spain, who had thus recovered all that she had lost by the treaty of Fontainebleau in 1764, France made no attempt to recover Canada, which had been taken from her by the above named treaty. The count de Gras encountered at Cape St. Vincent the British fleet under the command of Admiral Rodney. An obstinate fight then occurred, and the French fleet was defeated. The count de Gras who commanded the ship, "Ville de Paris," bearing 130 guns with 1,500 men, struck his flag at the last extremity, when there remained to him about 100 men only and wounded for the greater part. The English did justice to this gallant officer—his carriage was drawn by the people in the streets of London.

Amid these circumstances, a French fleet appeared on the American coast, which succeeded in landing General Rochambeau with about 8,000 men, and blockaded the Chesapeake bay. General Cornwallis thought prudent to retire under the fortifications which he had raised at Yorktown, but being at-

tacked by the united French and American armies, he surrendered with about 7,000 men, after a siege of eight days.

This affair put an end to the war of American Independence; plenipotentiaries met in Paris in 1784. Spain, represented by the count d'Aranda, retained Minorca, the Balears and other islands, and England conceded to her, besides, East and West Florida to the limits of Georgia. On the eve of signing the treaty, d'Aranda addressed the following letter to Charles the 3rd :

"Sire, your Majesty doubtless remembers, that I was opposed to the war undertaken by Spain and France against England, to determine the question of the Independence of the British colonies, and to establish upon these territories a nation to be designated as the United States of America. I do not wish to be a prophet; but I much fear that before a half century will have elapsed, there will remain to your Majesty, of all your vast possessions in America, only the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico."

Forty years had scarcely elapsed, when the prophecy of count d'Aranda was accomplished. The letter of count d'Aranda is in Madrid; I have read a copy of it, in the hands of the marquis de Tallaru, French ambassador to Spain under Louis the 18th.

The Independence of the United States had been recognized; but much remained to be done—the wounds occasioned by the war were to be healed; agriculture was to be restored to the hands of men, who, after having been soldiers for nearly ten years, had contracted other habits of life—a debt was to be met, which, compared with its pecuniary resources, weighed heavily upon the nation. To accomplish this last difficult task, loans were to be negotiated, and high interests to be paid—commercial relations abroad were also to be established, and treaties to be made;—but the united abilities of a Washington, a Hamilton, a Jefferson, a Franklin, an Adams, and other great citizens, were equal to all these exigencies.

It may be supposed that these statesmen, being aware that the United States had succeeded to the rights of England in

all her North American possessions from Canada to the Ohio and Mississippi; should have demanded the settlement of their limits towards the Mississippi. But the time was not opportune. It would have been impolitic to give umbrage to Spain—a nation, at that period, powerful, governed by Charles the 3d an able king, possessing a hundred ships of war or frigates, one of the finest armies in the world; and nearly the whole of South America. The question of the South Western limits was therefore left in abeyance.

The Republic of the United States was naturally destined to invite European emigration towards its favoured regions; and this emigration became considerable. The better portion of the land in the Atlantic States, much of which, was of arid and inferior quality, had already been granted to individuals. The Americans therefore and the new comers especially, turned their views, to the crossing of the Alleghany mountains, to take possession of the lands yet occupied by the Indians, between the Ohio and the Alleghanies; but a terrible war was there to be encountered against numerous savage tribes, already aware of the ambitious objects of the whites, who had driven them from the Atlantic coast. Some Yankees better advised, emigrated to the Cumberland River, in the country of the Chickasaws. This tribe had always been friendly to the English, and many of them spoke the English language. The Yankées were received without difficulty; they established there a farm, made a few barrels of flour, butter, hams, potatoes—and in 1785, at hap-hazard, they embarked their products upon a small flat-boat, floated down the Cumberland, and descended the Mississippi.

The inhabitants of the lower valley were quite amazed at beholding such a craft, governed by a huge oar, in the hands of two men. The Yankees at last reached New Orleans. The officers of the Custom House, after having affixed the seals, as usual, to the doors of the flat-boat, conducted its owners to the Intendance office, there to receive their permit to discharge the cargo;—but the Intendant refused the permit. The population exhibited agitation and discontent at the refusal;—the Intendant alleged that it was not advisable in the

interest of the Spanish monarchy, to encourage establishments in the upper country, calculated to attract there a numerous population, who might at some future day invade lower Louisiana, and snatch it from the Spaniards. Don Estevan Miro, then governor of that province, assuming the responsibility upon himself, acceded to the wishes of the Louisianians, and allowed the owners of the flat-boat to land their cargo. The inhabitants greeted with joy, this determination of the governor, for they rightly thought that these products arriving in large quantities, their prices would be reduced, especially that of flour, lard, hams and porc. So soon as it was known in the Atlantic States, that the western products were admitted in New Orleans, the emigration to the West became considerable ; for the Indians had been for the greater part expelled from Kentucky.

In 1792, this territory, numbering already more than fifty thousand souls, was erected into a *State*, whose *laws* superceded the Lynch-law. During the same year, Francis Louis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, was appointed governor and intendant of Louisiana. This man of high ability, after casting his eyes upon the map of the Louisianas, and inquiring into the progress of population in the western country, easily perceived that the Spanish possessions of Louisiana were exposed to be invaded at some future day by the enterprising people of that region. But it was too late to think of depriving a population which had already attained a hundred thousand souls, of the advantages of reaching a market for their products through the Mississippi, which was their only outlet ; for the Alleghanies could not be crossed in waggons to carry these products to the ports of the United States. Carondelet conceived that the only possible remedy, was the separation of the western territories from the Union. To attain this end, great inducements were to be offered to the inhabitants of that region. He communicated his schemes to two men of intelligence and influence in Kentucky, Generals James Wilkinson and Adair. These gentlemen, for the advantage of their countrymen, appeared to lend him a willing ear, but were well determined to do nothing ; besides, it

was not in their power to induce the Americans to renounce their nationality, nor to determine them to a separation from a great Republic, in order to establish an inferior one, under the protectorate of Spain. The Baron de Carondelet was destined to be disappointed in his hopes; but it is difficult for the most astute European to conceive the patriotism of the Anglo-Saxon race.

So soon as Wilkinson and Adair returned to Kentucky, the news was circulated that the introduction of goods would be freely permitted in New Orleans, and that religious tolerance would be exercised. Emigration to the West then became immense; merchants from Philadelphia came to settle in New Orleans—an American consul was even received there: which was not allowed at that period in the other Spanish possessions. This consul was Mr. Hewling, who did not leave Louisiana 'til 1805.

In 1776, Tennessee was erected into a State. The question was settled: Spanish Louisiana was in fact but an American province. The Spaniards bore all the burthens, all the expenses of government; the Americans carried on all the trade. Out of two hundred vessels in the harbour of New Orleans, nine tenths were American; and under the plea of coming to purchase American products, their vessels introduced merchandize.

Another circumstance occurred, to favor the citizens of the United States. Don Manuel Gayozo de Lemos was at that time governor at Natchez. Of high stature, and stoutly built, this man spoke English, and was quite American in his manners. He was fond of horses, of good cheer and madeira. Carondelet having made known his intentions to Gayozo, his lieutenant, made considerable concessions of land to Americans in the Mississippi territory. Stephen Minor received there, from the Court of Spain, the appointment of major-commandant of the militia. The Anglo-Saxons planted cotton in Natchez, which was sold at that period at fifty cents per pound; for that was the only point on the Mississippi where it was gathered in any considerable quantity. In Pointe-Coupee and other places, cotton was but little cultiva-

ted, even in 1794. The male slaves imported from Africa could be bought at that time for \$250, and the females for \$180; so that it was easy to make a large fortune in a short time. Major Minor, through his fortune and his rank in the Spanish army, acquired great influence among the American settlers. I was well acquainted with him. He married his daughter to one of my intimate friends, William Kenner, whose son, Duncan F. Kenner, was president of the Convention in 1852, which framed a new Constitution for the State of Louisiana.

The time had come for the United States to turn their attention to the settlement of their boundaries on the Mississippi. The main object had been accomplished: the inhabitants of the western country, formed a population sufficiently strong to secure for themselves the navigation of the Mississippi, and an emporium for their merchandize in New Orleans—in default of which, they could have seized upon lower Louisiana, which had a population of only forty thousand souls, and two thousand regular soldiers, scattered over the whole territory.

A fortunate circumstance for the Americans, had induced the Spanish government to seek to conciliate them. In 1794, whilst Spain was involved in a war with France, in consequence of the execution of Louis the 16th upon the revolutionary scaffold, on the 21st January 1793, the Committee of Public Safety, influenced by Robespierre, had commissioned as *chargé d'affaires* to Washington, a young revolutionist by the name of Genet, whose brother had voted the death of Louis the 16th. This young man, who was ardent and talented, had imagined that he might induce Washington to declare war against England, through a sentiment of gratitude for the aid which the British colonies had received from France, whilst they were engaged in their struggle for independence. Genet did not belong to Young America, but *his* allegiance was to *Young France*. Washington, Adams, Hamilton and the other great men who were then at the helm of the United States, were prudent, wise, and already of mature age—they were such men as would be now called *old*

foggies. The propositions of Genet were declined. He was made to understand that the United States contracted no offensive or defensive alliances with foreign governments. That their policy was neutrality in the wars of other nations whom they respected, and from whom they knew how to secure the respect due to themselves ; that they warred only for the rights of their commerce and agriculture, unless in cases of insult, or aggression against their nationality or honor. Genet understood with difficulty these principles of wisdom and morality, which are the true causes of our increase, of our wealth, and of the respect which all nations have observed towards our government, always faithful, in the accomplishment of its treaties, as it has been regardful of the rights of other nations.

Genet perceiving that he could not influence the cabinet of Washington, conceived the project of fomenting insurrection in Spanish Louisiana. He became acquainted with a creole, Auguste de la Chaise, who had been a colonel in the Republican armies. This creole who belonged to one of the most influential families of Louisiana, was reputed for his courage and fine personal appearance. They both repaired to Charleston, where they met with many French privateers, who had brought hither the prizes captured from the English, then at war with France. Bold and enterprising, these two men soon obtained adherents among the Americans of the Carolinas. They also despatched emissaries to the West. Advised betimes of these machinations, the Baron de Carondelet proclaimed that all men were called upon to take up arms in Louisiana. He caused the militia to be organized by Philippe de Marigny de Mandeville ; Joseph de Pontalba was ordered to call out those of Lafourche, Iberville and des Allemands. But Washington, true to the noble maxims he had proclaimed, caused Genet and de la Chaise to be informed, that if they did not immediately disarm, the American navy would blockade Charleston, and the troops would be ordered to disperse their armaments. Genet submitted, and left the United States. The honest course of the American government was duly appreciated by that of Louisiana and of Spain, and was

calculated to strengthen the bonds of amity between the two nations.

Had Washington been a man capable of approving or adopting unfair means of attaining an end, he would have allowed Genet and de la Chaise to pursue their course, for these men had not the pecuniary resources necessary to the maintenance of a Republic in Louisiana—a province which had no revenues, and could not create any; for its lands were almost without value, the culture of the sugar cane was yet unknown there, and but little cotton was raised. Henceforward, the annexation of Louisiana to the United States became certain; but such calculations could not enter into the mind of the greatest citizen of modern times. The immortal Washington must be regarded as a new Messiah, preaching the rights of man, morality and honesty.

Washington retired from the presidency of the United States in 1796: he might have been elected a third time, but he desired to establish the principle, that no citizen should occupy the presidential chair for more than eight years. His example has always been respected by his successors in office.

John Adams was then elected president of the United States. It devolved upon him to discuss the question of boundaries towards the Mississippi. The Americans could claim with justice, all that had been ceded by France to England in 1764, to wit: the left bank of the Mississippi to its head waters, from the river Manchac—with the exception however of what had been conquered by Galvez, that is to say Baton Rouge, as far as the line of the 31st degree of latitude, a few leagues from Bayou Sarah—for this line had been determined by Thomas Pinkney, United States envoy, and by the Prince of Peace representing Spain, in the treaty of 1796. The Baron de Carondelet, who had still indulged in the hopes of a separation of the Western States from the Union,—who had corresponded with the cabinet of Madrid in regard to this great project, was much surprized and disappointed at the claim of the American government. He immediately despatched an Irish officer in the service of Spain, by the name of Thomas Power, to Generals Wilkinson and Adair, in the hope that they might

realize their former promises to him. But these two skilful men had attained the only ends they had in view : the western country already contained a numerous population. They made known to Baron de Carondelet that nothing of what he had proposed could be undertaken ; that it was impossible. General Wilkinson after having caused Tomas Power to be arrested, also informed Carondelet, that he was prepared to march to Lower Louisiana with ten thousand men, and to capture it. The Baron clearly saw, that he had been out-witted, and that he had mistaken the character of the Anglo-Saxon race. He asked to be recalled from his government in Louisiana. The court of Madrid was astonished at this result. The Spanish government did not prove itself grateful for the services which that governor had rendered to Louisiana, by his wise and wholesome administration. From the grade of *camp-marshal* in the armies of the king, Baron Carondelet was appointed president of the *audience* of Quito. This position was beneath his talents and the rewards that he deserved.

There was no longer any cause for hesitation ; the boundary lines had to be drawn between the United States and the Spanish possessions. Colonel Elliot appeared with a respectable force before the fort of Natchez ; the Americans settled in that district, declared to Don Manuel Gayozo de Lemos, that resistance was vain. Besides, the treaty of 1764 between England and France justified the claim of the United States to the territories which had been ceded to the first named power ; the United States had succeeded to the rights of England. The boundary line was therefore fixed. It started from the Mississippi, on the 31st degree of north latitude, near Bayou Sarah, and following that line within about fifteen leagues from Mobile, it reached fort Tombigbee, since called fort Strander, and thence passed at a distance of about fourteen leagues from Pensacola.

There remained to Spain, in that direction, but the arid shores of Florida, where the many good harbours to be found, were destined soon to fall into the hands of the American Union, without any deviation however on the part of the

government of Washington, from its principles of moderation and justice.

Don Manuel Gayozo de Lemos was appointed governor of Louisiana in the beginning of 1798. At the same period, Don Carlos de Grandpré was also commissioned as governor of Baton Rouge and its dependencies as far as Pearl river. The court of Spain having become convinced that Louisiana could not be preserved to Spain in the condition of a colony, resolved to transform it into an independent kingdom, as is reported by the Prince of Peace in his memoirs. Troops were to be sent there; the military establishment in Mexico offered, in case of need, facilities for reinforcements; and an *infante*, son of Charles the 4th, was to be crowned, under the title of "King of Louisiana." But as Spain happened to be at the time at war with England, the cabinet of Madrid were deterred by the danger of exposing an *infante* to be captured. Other means were subsequently devised to establish a barrier between the United States and the rich possessions of the Spanish crown in the New and Old Mexico—these were to transfer those vast regions to the French, who had long envied them; for at the time of the treaty of Baden in 1795, the Executive Directory of France had despatched hither Barthelemy, to negotiate peace with Spain.

The French government of that time, as well as those that had preceded it, were aware that Spain was their natural ally, and that by her harbours, her navy, and a renewal of the maritime treaty of alliance of 1761, she could, if combined with France, check the preponderance of the British navy. Barthelemy, who was a statesman and an honest man, exacted nothing from Spain, and in Europe, the fraction of territory which had been conquered in the peninsula by the French armies, was relinquished. Nor did France demand any pecuniary indemnity, but she proposed the retrocession to her of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain in 1766.

The cabinet of Madrid declined acceding to the propositions of the French government, (see Memoirs of the Prince of Peace) but the progress of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West of the United States was not yet fully foreseen. Spain offered

as indemnity for the war, the Spanish portion of St. Domingo, which had already lost its value, for the French portion of that island was in open insurrection; and many of the whites had been massacred by the blacks. A priest, the abbé Grégoire, had exclaimed in the national assembly: "Let the colonies perish, rather than a principle." Paul Verrel and Santonax were then sent to St. Domingo, where they proclaimed the freedom of the blacks. Nine hundred sugar plantations were set on fire in the plains of the Cape, and in the midst of these conflagrations, arose, amongst others, Toussaint Louverture, proclaiming himself as the messenger of Christ, destined to avenge his countrymen. This negro performed in that island a part truly extraordinary both as a general and administrator, until 1802, when General Leclerc arrived there, with orders to re-establish slavery. Toussaint would not obey, and hence, followed war and murders.

The evacuation of the island by the French army, took place in 1804; out of forty thousand men, six thousand only returned to France. To the ravages of war however, must be added the still greater destruction occasioned by yellow fever in this army. The Spanish portion of St. Domingo, which had been ceded to France by the treaty of Baden, was therefore of no value, as time has sufficiently shown. But the Directory of France accepted it, in the hopes of obtaining the maritime alliance of Spain, which was accordingly effected in 1796.

The cabinet of Madrid, clearly perceiving the difficulties resulting from a state of war in the establishment of a monarchy in Louisiana, turned its policy towards the transfer of these vast regions to France at a proper time, with the expectation that they would be held by that power, and would thus form an insurmountable barrier between the Anglo-Saxons of America and the Spanish possessions of Mexico. In 1800, this opportunity presented itself. France asked of Spain the cession of Louisiana, and proposed to her, in exchange, Tuscany, which was to have been united to the duchy of Parma. The duke of Parma himself was to have married an infante, daughter of Charles the 4th, and the kingdom of Etruria was

to have been re-established in his favor. The cabinet of Madrid fearing that England might send an expedition against Louisiana, required that this arrangement should be kept secret. The Spanish cabinet, jealous and fearful of the encroachments of the Americans, required further, that it should be stipulated by secret articles, that France should never transfer Louisiana to any other power, and that in case at any future time, she did not desire to hold it, it was to be retroceded to Spain. Napoleon consented; the details of this treaty are set forth in the Memoirs of the Prince of Peace, as well as in the book of Barbé Marbois upon Louisiana, and its cession to the United States in 1803.

In 1802, at the time of the peace of Amiens, Napoleon, desirous of being well informed as to the value of Louisiana to France, appointed a commission to repair hither, and to explore and examine it. They reported that a colonial system could not be established there—that the Western Americans having the enjoyment of the navigation of the Mississippi, it was impossible to deny them a place of deposit, either at New Orleans, or at some point nearer to the gulf of Mexico, and that this population progressing with giant strides, would before many years take possession of the whole of Louisiana, where France would have wasted her expenditures in establishments and fortifications. Napoleon being aware that a Louisianian of high intelligence, Joseph Delfau de Pontalba, was at the time residing in Paris, thought proper also to consult him, as to the advantages and resources that Louisiana might offer to France. Pontalba, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the service of Spain in Louisiana, was well informed as to the progress of the Western States; he fully demonstrated in a precise and detailed memoir which I have seen, that the report in regard to this colony, made by the commissioners who had been sent there by Napoleon, was wise and conclusive beyond a doubt. The result of these inquiries had disposed the mind of the 1st. Consul towards the sale of Louisiana to the United States, and there only remained to be brought about the propositions to that effect. Already, in the year 1801, a great excitement had been created in the West of the United

States, although it was as yet unknown that those regions had been ceded to France. The Intendant of Louisiana announced that the term during which the inhabitants of the West had been allowed the privilege of a deposit for their products in New Orleans, was about to expire. The Legislature of Kentucky thereupon convened, and declared that if the government of the United States did not choose to protect the Western people, the Kentuckians would take up arms themselves, and march to Lower Louisiana, forcibly to take possession of it. The Legislature of Tennessee made declarations to the same effect, as also the Grand Jury of the Mississippi territory. The Intendant withdrew his decree; but as he might at any moment renew it, the people of the West were not quieted; the future appeared to them dark and uncertain.

On the 17th March 1802, the peace of Amiens having been signed by England, France and Spain, the treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana had been ceded to France, became public. It was a matter of astonishment in Europe, that the French government did not now prepare any military expedition for Louisiana—they who in 1802 had sent an army of forty thousand men to Saint Domingo under general Leclerc.

Napoleon only made some insignificant demonstrations in order to induce the United States to enter into negotiations relative to Louisiana. The government of the colony was first proposed to general Bernadotte; but he was purposely denied what he thought necessary there, to maintain his authority. But the United States making no overtures, Laussat was sent to Louisiana in 1803, with the title of prefect. He was accompanied by adjutant Burthe, and by lieutenant Dominique Burthe, his brother, by colonel Vinache, of the engineers, and by captain Castille, of the artillery who brought with him six field pieces. Laussat was a bearer of a letter to me from my relative de Pontalba, whom I have already mentioned; he invited me to tender the use of my house to Laussat and to his wife, a woman of remarkable beauty and wit. Madam Laussat was accompanied by her two daugh-

ters aged fourteen and twelve. D'Augereau was the secretary of the prefect. As my house was large, I had reserved for myself two apartments: Laussat had tendered me a seat at his table and the entrance of his saloons; I was therefore one of his intimate society; and I have often heard him exclaim: "The French troops arrive not." It was known that after the refusal of Bernadotte, general Victor had been appointed to the government of Louisiana, and no preparations were made either for the departure of that officer or of any military force.

Chancellor Livingston, then United States minister in Paris, was rather a man of learning than a diplomat; he had paid thus far but little attention to the question of the navigation of the Mississippi. Under these circumstances, two merchants from New Orleans arrived in Paris, they were James Pitot, a man of learning and judgment, who was subsequently for many years mayor of New Orleans, and Daniel Clarke, an Irishman by birth, of an active and restless spirit, who was reputed at the time as the largest land-holder in Louisiana. In consequence of the representations of these two citizens to the American minister, of the grievances of the people of the Western part of the United States, Livingston addressed a letter to the minister of foreign affairs, Talleyrand de Perigord, in order to ascertain the intentions of the French government as to the navigation of the Mississippi, and the mart which was indispensable in Louisiana, for the products of the Western country. Talleyrand expressed, in his answer to the American minister, the desire that the existing harmony between the two nations should not be interrupted; but he promised nothing positively. Livingston, although without any authority from his government, thereupon thought proper to enter into negotiations with the French cabinet in relation to Louisiana. He offered a sum of three millions of dollars for the Isle of Orleans, from the head of the river Manchac to lake Maurepas, then following a line in the middle of said lake, and of lake Pontchartrain, through the middle of the Rigolets, and turning around the coast of the Mexican Gulf to the Mississippi, and thence continuing up said river

to the point of departure. The answer of Talleyrand to this proposition was less evasive.

In Louisiana, the people were uneasy as to the new government about to be established in the country. The former French administration had left unpleasant reminiscences, and the mild and paternal government which Spain had established there had given general satisfaction; for with the exception of the Governor, the Intendant and the Chief Judge, nine tenths of the employés, both in the civil and military service, in New Orleans, as well as in the country, were natives of Louisiana. In the West, excitement had reached its highest point, and nothing less than the invasion and conquest of Louisiana, to prevent the French from taking possession of it, was talked of.—Thomas Jefferson advised his fellow-citizens to be patient, and to await the result of the great transaction he was meditating, in a mind as comprehensive, as his patriotism was great. Being informed that Livingston had met with but little success, he addressed to James Monroe a pressing letter: "He urged upon him to depart without delay for France, giving him unlimited powers on account of the great distance, and setting forth the eminent services he might render his country." Devoted to the interests of his country, Monroe immediately departed on his mission; but the season being unfavorable, he did not reach Paris until April, after a long and tedious voyage. Napoleon awaited him with impatience. Barbé Marbois, then minister of the treasury, was entrusted on the part of France with the negotiations which were about to be opened in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi. At the first interview between the Representatives of the two countries, Livingston and Monroe were surprised at the propositions of Barbé Marbois: "you desire," said he, "the navigation of the Mississippi and a mart at New Orleans; well! we will sell you the whole of Louisiana, with its primitive boundaries, such as France first possessed it; that is to say, we will sell it as we received it from Spain by the treaty of St. Ildefonso in the year 1800." The price was soon agreed upon, and was fixed at 80 millions of francs, of which twenty millions were to be retained by the government of the

United States, as an indemnity to those of its citizens, who had suffered losses from seizures of their goods or vessels, made at different periods by French ships.

An obstacle presented itself to the execution of this treaty, which might have been considered difficult to overcome ; but Napoleon, on this occasion, disregarded the obligations established by the law of nations. By a secret treaty, bearing the same date with that of St. Ildefonso, it had been stipulated that France should not transfer Louisiana to any other nation, and that if it so happened that she could not or would not keep it, she should retrocede it to Spain. This precaution on the part of Spain is an evidence that already at that period, the cabinet of Madrid were fearful of the encroachments of the Anglo-Saxon race towards Mexico. Napoleon doubtless feared that impediments would arise on the part of Spain, but these would be but slight, when Laussat would have been put in possession of Louisiana by the Spanish commissioners, Don Manuel de Salzedo and the Marquis of Casacalvo. The choice of these commissioners was injudicious : Salzedo was an infirm octogenarian ; Casacalvo had but little ability. His estates, his family, his dearest habits were in Cuba, and he longed to return to his house-hold gods.

Napoleon had despatched to Washington, with the treaty which had to undergo the formality of ratification by the Senate, a distinguished young officer by the name of Landais. This officer had been instructed not to take the usual conveyances from Washington to New Orleans. Landais traversed on horse back and at full speed the Indian territory, and arrived in New Orleans on the 23d November. He delivered immediately to Laussat the despatch of the French government, urging him to take immediate possession of Louisiana. I witnessed the vexation as well as the surprise of Laussat. He said that he had been sent to Louisiana only to awaken the attention of the Western people and to arouse their passions.

Laussat repaired immediately to Salzedo's quarters, where he met also with Casacalvo. The old man wished to delay action until they had received further orders ; but Casacalvo

having declared his opinion that Louisiana should be immediately delivered over to the French authority, orders were given to that effect. Laussat had not a single soldier. The French, under the command of Mr. Charpin, a retired officer, formed a militia company; the Anglo-Saxons formed under Daniel Clarke. Gabriel Villeré and B. Marigny were the aids-de-camp of Laussat;—and on the 30th November 1803, the Spanish flag was succeeded by the French.

At Washington-City, so soon as the bearer of despatches who brought the treaty of cession had arrived, the Marquis Casa y Rouco, the Spanish minister, laid his protest before the United States Senate; it was based upon the violation of the secret treaty, by which France could cede Louisiana to no other power but Spain. When France delivered Louisiana into the hands of the American government, universal astonishment was expressed. It could not be conceived how a nation who, at different periods, had so much desired and envied Louisiana, could have bartered for 80 millions of francs, a territory almost as extensive as the continent of Europe, and valuable by the fertility of its soil and the production of timbers for naval constructions. Napoleon alone was aware that Spain had ceded those vast territories to France, with the sole object of establishing a barrier between the United States and Mexico. He knew also that France however desirous of possessing Louisiana, could not have preserved it for more than a few years—that she would be burthened with all the expenditures of this colony, whilst its commerce would inure to the benefit of the Americans. However, the first Consul desirous of securing to himself some merit in the eyes of the United States, ostensibly pretended to set aside french interests, in order to afford the American Union the means of becoming one of the greatest nations on the globe, and the only one that might, from the genius of its people, successfully compete with proud Albion for the supremacy of the seas. On the other hand, the friends of the 1st Consul maintained that the English might have taken Louisiana by way of the lakes, by expeditions from Canada, or by ascending the Mississippi. These were not the true motives that operated upon the French cabinet in regard to the cession made to the Uni-

ted States. For, it may be easily demonstrated that it was scarcely possible for England to have conquered Louisiana as alleged. In the first place, to conquer this colony by passing over the lakes from Canada, would have required an army of at least ten thousand men, to be transported over a distance of nearly five hundred leagues, with all its materials of war and subsistence. Then, on reaching the Mississippi, the construction of a great number of boats became necessary. Who can believe that the American people, so proud of their rights, and their nationality, would have suffered a British army to violate their territories in its march against a friendly nation, who had aided them in the achievement of their independence? This is an absurdity which could not have been apprehended by the strong mind of Napoleon. The other supposition, although more plausible, is scarcely more rational, to wit: that Louisiana might have been taken by ascending the Mississippi. When the Mississippi is at high water, the opening of the dikes would suffice to arrest a whole army in its march to New Orleans. At that period, steam vessels had not yet been invented, to contend against the current of great rivers; an army, between the gulf and the point now called the English Turn, would have been soon decimated by disease, intermittent fevers, and especially by yellow fever. During the season of low water, the space comprised between the English Turn and the sea, is intersected by bayous and swamps. Admitting that France would have had but three thousand men in Louisiana; this force, united with the inhabitants of the country, who were natives for the greater part, active and adroit in the use of fire arms, would have sufficed to check a British army of 10,000 men. Thousands of Indians also could have been obtained as auxiliaries, who, in the swamps of Lower Louisiana, would have been useful sharpshooters.

At a later period, it has been shewn that European armies were not successful in America. It seems that providence has determined to protect since eighty years, the regions that had been so long oppressed by Europe. In the last war between Spain and England, from 1803 to 1808, Lord Beresford

ascended the la Plata with 8000 men, and took Montevideo. An officer of the Spanish navy, by the name of de Linière, placed himself at the head of the creoles of the country, and gave battle to the British army. Defeated by de Linière, this army abandoned the Plata and the province of Buenos-Ayres. Subsequently Lord Abercromby with 5000 men, having taken possession of a portion of the island of Porto-Rico, some Spanish officers at the head of the militia, ventured to attack him; his force being routed, Abercromby was forced to reembark. And finally on the 8th of January 1815, we have beheld 12,000 veterans from old England, before the *Jackson lines*, repulsed by 4000 men, among whom scarcely more than 500 regular soldiers could be counted.

The reader may now understand the true motives of the cession of Louisiana by France. He may now above all, justly appreciate the wisdom of our government, its sagacity and moderation. From 1784 to 1803, our government, both in Congress and in the cabinet, avoided the agitation of the boundary questions towards the Mississippi; they awaited until the tide of population had reached its shores, and until the moment had arrived, (for him who bides his time, all turns out well). John Adams, Washington's successor in office, insisted upon the settlement of the boundaries, and they were at last established. The people of the western country were already numerous and powerful; they carried on nearly the whole import and export trade of Louisiana, and the navigation of the Mississippi could no longer be denied them.

Spain having become convinced that the country was no longer to her but an object of considerable expenditures, ceded the vast territories of Louisiana to France who had long desired them. Scarcely had the latter power recovered them, when she perceived in turn that they would be of no value, if not onerous to her, and she transferred them to the United States. Presumptuous spirits of all classes! who in your hot haste and indiscreet ardor, would take every thing by storm, often even at the sacrifice of right and good faith! render your tribute of homage to the wisdom of those ancient law-givers, of those immortal citizens, who without bloodshed, without

interrupting the regular progress of our agriculture and commerce, had in the course of twenty years, enlarged by more than double their original extent, the territories of our beloved country !

The eight years of Thomas Jefferson's happy administration expired in 1808. James Madison then assumed the Presidential chair ; his administration was arduous, he had many embarrassments to meet, many difficulties to overcome. But his wisdom, his ability proved equal to every emergency.

At that period, England was mistress of the seas ; no power could raise against her a fleet of 30 ships. She could be met only in single combats of ship against ship, or frigate against frigate.

Napoleon, in the Prussian campaign of 1806 and 1807, having won the battle of Iena, entered Berlin, and proclaimed his continental system (which was to conquer the seas by land). The English, by way of retaliation, proclaimed their "orders in Council," called the paper blockade. Neutrality was not respected ; all vessels were liable to be searched ; the flag did not cover the merchandize, and our seamen were impressed, or otherwise vexed. Madison addressed his remonstrances to the cabinet of St. James, but they were unavailing. With the view of bringing England into measures of moderation and justice, the government of Washington in 1808, laid an embargo upon the ports of the United States. Our commerce was paralysed ; the products of our agriculture were without means of exportation ; our bread stuffs, our salt meats, tobacco and cotton remained in the ware-houses without value, and were finally sold to pay storage ; our flour fermented, and was thrown into the water.

This state of things had lasted for three years, when the Americans having exhausted their patience and moderation, declared war against England. The English exerted against the United States all the forces they could dispose of. Our means of defence at that period were quite limited ; we had but five frigates, and some gun-boats upon our lakes and rivers. This war however was not inglorious to the American arms. Wherever our frigates encountered a British frigate,

victory was ours. A single one, the Chesapeake, succumbed after a dreadful combat. Being mortally wounded, Commodore Lawrence was heard to utter the noble sentiment: "My friends, don't give up the ship." On lake Erie, the British fleet was destroyed by Commodore Perry. At last, the campaign of Andrew Jackson in Louisiana, which was closed by the battle of the 8th of January 1815, drove for ever the British Leopard from this land of liberty. Peace between the United States and Great Britain had been concluded at Ghent, on the 24th December 1814. England relinquished her odious pretensions upon our ships, and we were placed in our commercial relations with her upon the footing of the most favored nations.

In 1816, James Monroe was elected to the Presidency of the United States; he had been one of the signers of the treaty of cession of Louisiana, on the 30th April 1803. By his wisdom and persuasive arguments, Monroe convinced the cabinet of Madrid that Florida was but a useless burthen to Spain. This power, embarrassed in its finances, had to bear the expenditure of maintaining forts and garisons in a country which contributed nothing to its revenues, and was destined by the force of circumstances, at some future day, to be lost to Spain; whilst it was of value to the United States, on account of its harbours on the Mexican Gulf. Spain who at the time, yet entertained hopes of preserving or reconquering Mexico, was induced to sell Florida to the United States, upon the condition that the river Sabine would form our boundary towards her Mexican possessions. We therefore came into possession of those excellent harbours: Key-West, Tampa-Bay, Pensacola and St. Joseph's bay; all of which were necessary to our merchant vessels as well as to our ships of war. The United States have since caused to be established naval depots and navy yards in some of those ports.

The detractors of Monroe maintained that he had committed an error in the Florida treaty, by accepting the Sabine as our boundary, when by inquiring into the past, we might have claimed the Rio Grande as the limit of Ancient Louisiana. But James Monroe, judged rightly, that it was urgent above all to obtain the ports of Florida and to secure to us beyond

dispute the bay of Mobile, for the advantage of the State of Alabama. Besides, his experience had given him a deep foresight into the tendencies of the Anglo-Saxon race. He had beheld it climbing over the Alleghanies, traversing the Ohio, the Cumberland, and subsequently the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Red River, all of them large and powerful streams;—how could he not foresee that this active and enterprizing race would soon leap over the small stream of the Sabine, to tarry but a moment on the banks of the Rio Grande? Results have shown that this ancient citizen, ripened as he was by experience and public service, had formed a better judgment of things, than the turbulent spirits who blamed him for having consented to the Florida treaty. The services of James Monroe will forever be highly appreciated in America.

I shall pass over the administration of John Quincy Adams, which succeeded that of Monroe, and lasted but four years, during which nothing of remarkable interest occurred. After John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson was called to the Presidential chair. His disposition was generally feared; he was thought too ardent and irascible;—but his well known patriotism and the nature of our institutions offered sufficient guarantees. Under his successful administration, the public debt was extinguished, and indeed a surplus of funds which remained in the treasury, was divided between the States. It is the first instance in modern times of a great nation being found free from all debt. The government of the United States had claims of long standing against France, against Spain and Portugal. These were all adjusted upon equitable principles. It was in relation to the claims against France, our ancient ally, and in order to avoid obstacles and sensitiveness on her part, that Andrew Jackson declared in a Message, "That it would be as preposterous to suppose that he had intended to insult France, as it would be ridiculous to imagine that she would allow herself to be insulted." Louis Philip, a wise and enlightened king, contributed greatly to arrangements calculated to preserve the friendly relations of the two nations. I have seen but few men, who entertained a greater admiration of our institutions, and a higher opinion of the American people.

than the King of the French. In his youth, he had travelled over the United States; he had seen and studied every thing there. Louis Philip was really a *man* under the garb of royalty; he was a republican King.

The administration of General Jackson was however marked by an event, which illustrates the prejudice that may ensue to the policy of our government from the absence of moderation; but this circumstance, not to say this error, must be attributed in him, to the painful reminiscences of his fatigues and sufferings during the arduous war against the Creeks and Seminoles. James Monroe had acquired Florida for the price of five millions of dollars. It was necessary, in order to invite American settlements there, that the Creeks and Seminoles should emigrate to the Indian territory. I am inclined to think, that if the Indian chiefs had been conducted to that fine region, to examine it for themselves, and become convinced that its soil was richer than that of Florida, and its wild game more abundant—that if some sacrifice of money had been made to buy up their cattle, which could not be carried with them—that if, in short, an amount of a million of dollars had been given them as an indemnity for their removal, and to aid them in forming their new establishments—the Indians might have been removed from Florida without difficulty. But moderation did not prevail, and war ensued. This war was carried on for a few years, at the cost of about 30 millions of dollars—a sum almost as large as that for which we acquired Louisiana, Florida, and subsequently New Mexico and California.

This is a striking example; it shows that a government should be always disposed to make great sacrifices to avoid war. It is to the condition of peace, enjoyed with but few interruptions by the United States, since 1784, that we are indebted for our prosperity, and the prodigious increase of our population.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the administrations which immediately followed that of Andrew Jackson; for nothing of note occurred, until the advent of James K. Polk into power. However, under the administration of John Tyler, who be-

came President at the death of General Harrison, the preliminaries of the annexation of Texas took place.

Our attention is now called to the administration of James K. Polk, and to the great events which have rendered it memorable. The territory of Texas was annexed to the American Union, notwithstanding the opposition of France and England. This annexation was national. Since the battle of St. Jacinto, during nearly seven years, active hostilities had ceased. Texas had been recognized as an independent State, by the United States, by France, England, and the rest of Europe. This fraction of the American people, who had separated from the great family, spoke the same language, and had preserved the same usages and laws; it was natural that it should return to the bosom of the mother-country.

Zacharie Taylor received orders from the government of Washington to encamp with his command upon the Rio Grande, the ancient boundary of Louisiana. The Mexicans then provoked by their acts the commencement of hostilities. They crossed the Rio Grande, and massacred some of our officers. Hence the war, and our triumphs! Taylor won the celebrated battle of Buena-Vista, and Scott planted the star spangled banner upon the walls of Mexico, the ancient capital of the Montezumas.

This war and its results were calculated to elevate the character of our people in their own estimation, as well as in that of the world. Our magnanimity was equal to our courage. Instead of following the examples of Europe in such cases; instead of keeping forcible possession of any portion of the conquered territory, and requiring re-embursement for the sums which the war, provoked by the Mexican Republic, had cost us, we gave fifteen millions of dollars for New-Mexico and California. The former, a useless possession and even a burthen to Mexico, who, like Spain formerly, was obliged to maintain there an army to prevent the devastations of the barbarous Comanches upon the cultivated lands of Mexico; whilst California had been but an unprofitable territory, scarcely containing fifteen hundred inhabitants, most of whom were under the influence of the most idle habits. What greater example

can be presented of generosity and moderation?—What more convincing proof, that in the territorial aggrandizements of the United States, there is nothing repugnant to morality, or to the laws of nations?

The administration of Millard Fillmore was signalized by an event much to be regretted: I allude to the invasion of Cuba by a number of adventurers from the United States. Surely, no one more than myself, deplored the unfortunate end which my misguided fellow-citizens there met with. I remember to have told several of them that they were rushing to certain destruction; that they would not find in the population of Cuba the necessary elements to achieve the independence of that colony. The government of the United States were opposed to the expedition against Cuba.—They did not succeed however in preventing its departure. But what was its fate? inquire into the history of the times, and that history will tell you that it met the fate under which succumbed the army of Toledo in 1811, and subsequently those of Colonel Mina, of Iturbide, of Mejia, and others.

Let us throw a veil of mourning upon this sad episode of Cuba, whose catastrophe was the death of our brave and unfortunate country-men

The inauguration of a new President is invariably the occasion of numerous conjectures as to his measures, and especially in regard to his foreign policy; the idea was accordingly entertained by many, that Franklin Pierce would tolerate the expeditions of adventurers. The conduct of this Magistrate in assuming the executive power, has shewn that he was firmly opposed to such movements; for in his first message, he declared that he would exert all the power vested in him by the laws to suppress all armed expeditions against a friendly power. The policy of Franklin Pierce is not opposed to the annexation of Cuba to the United States,—far from it; but he is aware that the cabinet of Washington, without impairing its reputation of probity, can reach this result, by adhering to the principles adopted by Washington and by John Adams, to obtain the left bank of the Mississippi, from the 31st degree of latitude to its head waters: principles which have been suc-

cessively observed by Jefferson, Monroe, and Polk, in relation to the acquisition of Louisiana, the Floridas, New-Mexico and California. Those great statesmen, enlightened as they themselves were, felt that they should obey the precepts of George Washington, the father of his country, who had established our foreign policy upon the basis of justice, morality and probity. Whoever departs from those precepts, will be looked upon by the American people as an Atheist in politics.

I am proud and happy to share the opinions of Franklin Pierce, and of the illustrious men who preceded him.

I have sufficiently dwelt upon the foreign policy of the United States in relation to their territorial aggrandizements; upon the treaties between France and Spain, and upon the causes which have gradually led to independence the British colonies and the Spanish colonies in America, with the exception of the islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico. I desired in the first place to vindicate our government, and in the next, to show to other nations, that in the history of past ages, there is nothing nobler and wiser than the principles of administration which have guided the cabinet of Washington. Providence has thus far protected the American people. Its territory, honorably enlarged, is susceptible of containing more than a hundred million of inhabitants. Its possessions upon the Pacific Ocean will permit the establishment of the most advantageous commercial relations with the nations of Asia, and its progress in commerce, agriculture and manufactures, assumes gigantic proportions. During our wars, the militia shewed themselves equal to veteran soldiers, and great Generals sprang up; our merchant ships are innumerable, and our military navy is respected and admired. Honor then to our government! honor to our Presidents! honor again and again to the memories of the immortal Washington, of Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and of many other great men, who have thrown lustre upon our beloved and noble country.

SECOND PART.

The disturbances of which the Island of Cuba has been the theatre, and the desire manifested by the American people to acquire this colony, having given rise to apprehensions of difficulties between Spain and the United States, it may not be out of place to enter into some views of the Spanish peninsula, as well as of its resources and the character of its people.

In Spain, the population amounts to sixteen millions. In 1808, it did not exceed eleven millions. Notwithstanding the wars with the French from 1808 to 1814; notwithstanding the excesses of Ferdinand the 7th, who caused many Spaniards to perish or to emigrate, and finally, in spite of civil war, the population of Spain has increased by five millions of souls in the space of thirty five years. Tranquillity has been restored in Spain, only since the retreat of Don Carlos from the peninsula together with his adherents, in consequence of the capitulation of General Maroto in 1839. This nation enjoys a representative government; there is a Senate and a House of Representatives, to whom the ministry are accountable. The press is free, with the exception of a few restrictions, and public education is in a course of progress. The lands of the clergy have been sold and are now under cultivation; the extensive plains of Castille, formerly reserved for the pasturage of sheep, have been divided, and are now cultivated. New districts have been established; catholic Switzers and Irishmen have been settled there, and rail roads are in progress of construction. The lands of Spain are fertile—its mountains contain mines of iron, quicksilver, gold

and silver. The Carthagenians as well as the Romans had worked those mines. The Spaniards have ceased to work them only since the discovery of America.

The coasts of Spain comprise an extent of seven hundred leagues; along them are to be found the following harbors, capable of receiving either ships of war, frigates or large steamships: Algeiras, Malaga, Carthagen, Alicante, Valencia, Barcelona, Rosa, Moquere, Cadiz, Corona, Vigo, Ferrol, St. Ander, St. Sebastian and Bilbao. Her regular army amounts to 90,000 men. She possesses about 30 ships of war of various sizes, of which 30 are under steam power, and a considerable number of merchant vessels. The number of her seamen of the 1st, 2d and 3d classes, amounts to about 40,000, including those engaged in the coasting trade of Europe and the fisheries. The population of her islands is in the following proportions:—Cuba, 1,300,000; Porto Rico, 600,000; the Balears in the Mediterranean, 400,000; the Canaries 500,000; the Philippines, 600,000 at least; forming a total of 19,400,000 souls.

The patriotism of the Spaniards is as great as their courage. When the Romans subdued them, they caused their right hands to be cut off, in order to secure their fidelity. The Moors remained for nearly eight centuries in possession of a part of Spain; they had invaded it through the treason of the countess of St. Julien in Andalusia. The war against the Moors was unceasing until it ended; and the race of the Pelasgian Kings was compelled to retire into the mountains of Asturia. Conquered at last by the Spaniards, the Moors submitted to the sway of Ferdinand and Isabella, as their sovereign princes. The war undertaken by Napoleon against Spain lasted six years; to maintain it, the Spanish people rose in mass. Four hundred thousand Frenchmen perished in this national war; and the armies of Napoleon were compelled to abandon the peninsula.

In stating these facts, my object has been to make known the character of the Spanish nation, as well as its power. But this is no reason for avoiding war with Spain, if any provocation or injustice on her part should require us to take

up arms against her. With the Americans, with a free people, the maintenance of the national honor without a stain, is paramount to every other consideration.

Let us pass now to the statistics of the Island of Cuba. This colony extends in length 220 leagues; its breadth in the narrowest part is 7 leagues, and in the widest 39; making an average of 23 leagues in breadth, and a superficial area of 5,060 leagues; or 35,703,360 arpents. Cuba possesses 41 harbours, many of them capable of admitting ships of war, frigates or steamships. It is traversed by mountain ranges which contain copper mines; its climate is uniform, and frosts do not visit it. The sugar cane there may yield for twelve years without being replanted. Coffee grows extremely well in the mountain region, as well as cotton, which may be picked at least during eight months in the year, and not during four months only as in Louisiana. The tobacco of this island is of superior quality, and may even be called the best in the world, especially for cigars. According to the best data, only one tenth of the land in this colony is under cultivation.

The Island of Cuba is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, near the point of Florida. The Florida channel can scarcely be passed, without giving a view of Havana, a strongly fortified city, whose population amounts to nearly 200,000 souls. In this island, are found immense forests of mahogany and of iron wood, the best of all timbers for the construction of vessels of war. The population of the Island of Cuba is thus divided, to wit: 100,000 European Spaniards, engaged in commerce and fisheries; 400,000 creoles; 200,000 free persons of color, and 600,000 slaves. Among the 100,000 European Spaniards are included 22,000 men in the regular troops, and about 4,000 on the vessels of war, which number about 24. The free people of color are faithful to the government on account of the little prejudice entertained by the Spaniards against casts. The nobility, the wealthy gentry, who own the real estate, and who cultivate the sugar and coffee plantations, support the government, through the fear of losing their estates, either by an invasion, by a revolution, or by the liberation of the blacks, which the government

threatens constantly to proclaim. The people in the towns and the peasantry, generally devoid of all education and effeminate, do but little work, and pass a great portion of their time at balls or religious ceremonies. This part of the population are kept in awe by the army, the police and the clergy. The young men of the middle classes, those of them especially who have been educated in the United States or in Europe, are in favor of independence. The Cuban nobility are numerous and wealthy. Their fortunes cannot be lost under the present system, for their revenues only are subject to seizure, and the entailed estates in that privileged class are protected by the laws. It is therefore evident that the elements of a revolution capable of snatching it from Spain, are not to be found in Cuba.

Admitting that it be necessary or indispensable to annex this colony to the United States, only two modes of attaining this end present themselves: "either to wage war upon Spain, or to purchase Cuba from her." The Americans doubtless might take possession of the island by force of arms; but the Spanish government remaining with nothing to be defended or protected in America, would cause to be equipped a great number of privateers. Spain is situated in the Southern extremity of Europe. The American vessels navigating in that region, being almost invariably compelled to reconnoitre the coast of the Peninsula, either to enter the Mediterranean or to pass into the Northern seas, would be exposed to be captured. Our commerce and agriculture would suffer, and we would be compelled to maintain very considerable armaments. For it is not only against Spain that we might have to contend, but probably also against France and England. Even if it lasted but five years, such a war would cost our exchequer more than a thousand millions. To this sum, should be added the losses of our citizens, for according to the spirit of our institutions, the people are not in the government, but the government is rather in the people who are sole sovereigns. The idea of acquiring the island of Cuba by force of arms should therefore be abandoned—it would cost too dear; and we should choose rather the process adopted by

the preceding administrations that have enlarged our territory
—“We must buy it.”

Let us inquire now into the value of Cuba to the United States. As a maritime position, Cuba is invaluable. It has a front of 220 leagues to the Ocean towards the North, and the same to the South. Commerce and agriculture are making stupendous strides in the valley of the Mississippi and its dependencies. ‘Ere long, St. Louis will be united to the Pacific by a rail road, and our revenues will be considerably increased. We must therefore be masters of the gulf; but we cannot be so, without possessing Cuba. From Norfolk to Key West, we have no harbours capable of admitting ships of war. Those coming from the Atlantic States, have to pass before Havana, which is the key of the gulf.

A nation so wealthy as the Americans, whose future destinies are beyond the previsions of the most glowing fancy, should indeed make great sacrifices to come into possession of Cuba. Spain could not yield it for a trifle; and to attain this happy result, arguments must be use dsufficiently strong to convince the cabinet of Madrid, that without any unfair means on our part, without connivance in the expeditions of adventurers, this island must cease, at some future day, to form a part of the Spanish dominions; the attention of the Spanish ministry should especially be brought to bear upon the prediction of Aranda, one of the greatest statesmen of Spain, who on the eve of signing the treaty of Paris of 1784, wrote to Charles the 3d: “I do not wish to be a prophet, but I much fear that before fifty years will have elapsed, there will remain to your Majesty, out of all your vast possessions in America, only the Islands of Cuba and Porto-Rico.” Forty years later, as I have said, the prediction was accomplished.

We should not lose sight of the fact that our population, which, seventy-six years ago, scarcely amounted to three millions, now numbers twenty-four millions of souls, and that in ten years, it will probably have reached thirty-five millions. For emigration alone gives an increase of 500,000 souls each year.

Now, if we calculate fully the large revenues which might accrue to the American government from the Custom Houses of Cuba; if we take into consideration the value of her timber for naval constructions, her copper mines, as well as her superficial extent, which is capable of sustaining a population of sixteen millions of souls (admitting that one fourth of that population will inhabit the towns)—we may afford beyond question, to allow for this colony a liberal price, payable say in fifty years, and bearing only 3 0/0 interest per annum. The gold of Australia and California are destined to cause the rate of interest to fall. Besides, the holders of Spanish bonds bearing 5 0/0 interest, are subjected to a loss varying from 30 to 40 per cent, when they wish to realize, because the interest is not punctually paid, and they have occasion to fear the loss of a portion of the capital. Lenders are naturally inclined to be uneasy, and these would willingly exchange the Spanish bonds for American securities bearing 3 0/0 interest. Now, admitting that the revenues derived from the Island of Cuba should yield annually but four millions of dollars to the United States, we would fall short but a few millions of dollars each year. But the revenues from Cuba, regularly increasing, as they do in the United States, this deficit would soon be filled up. I have seen the time when the State of Louisiana had but 50,000 dollars of revenue; now, it has nearly \$1,300,000. New Orleans, forty years ago, had but \$30,000 revenue; it has now more than a million. We are a people of giants, we must go onward. The millions we might have to pay to Spain for the Island of Cuba will be much lighter to the United States in fifty years, than fifty millions would be, if payable now. Our resources, our credit, our commerce, our institutions are perpetual, and the compromise laws have dissipated forever the fears of disunion. Besides, among an enlightened people, their real interests will always prevail. The Northern States are engaged in manufactures; they possess a great amount of capital, and they own, besides, three fourths of our merchant ships; the Southern States are agricultural: the North and the South are therefore bound together by indissoluble ties of interest,

These interests, which require the maintenance of the Union, will surely increase, so soon as a rail-road will have facilitated communications with the Pacific Ocean; Asia will soon open its gates to us; China is undergoing a revolution; and in the present age, revolutions are made in the name of liberty, commerce, and substantial interests.

One of the principal reasons which should induce us to offer to Spain a valuable consideration for the Island of Cuba, is to show to the world that the cabinet of Washington is by no means disposed to connive in the expeditions of adventurers against that colony. We should preserve to our government its character for morality, and banish from our policy all machiavelian principles. Probity in governments is as laudable, as it is in individuals; it is a balm which sustains the heart, and vivifies the soul.

It must be supposed that the late events that have occurred in Cuba, have aroused the nationality, and the indomitable pride that characterize the Spaniards. The moment therefore is not perhaps opportune, to enter into negotiations relative to the acquisition of the island. Time must be allowed, for Spanish resentments to be allayed, and the cabinet of Madrid will be brought to understand that a considerable amount to be paid in money, and bearing 300 interest per annum, would be far preferable, under all the circumstances, to the possession of the Island of Cuba, which now yields to Spain scarcely two millions of dollars per annum, after paying the expenses of administration.

A favorable circumstance is about to present itself, which the cabinet of Madrid will doubtless appreciate. England ever ready to take advantage of the passions, the weakness, or the embarrassments of other governments; in order to subserve her own selfish and machiavelian policy, wishes to annul the Island of Cuba, by africanizing it, by means of the importation of blacks from Africa, called apprentices. The men of that color entertain a natural aversion towards the whites, who for ages back have reduced them to a condition of slavery. Should a revolution break out in that colony, we would probably witness the rise of such men as Toussaint

Louverture, Dessalines, or, at a later period, of a Soulouque ;— the whites would be massacred as they were in the French portion of St. Domingo. Can Spain lend herself to such schemes? I say no, emphatically no! The commerce of the Peninsula is involved for millions with Cuba, and Spaniards are in possession of vast estates there. The lives, as well as the property of both Creoles and Spaniards, would be placed in jeopardy, by the nefarious machinations of Great Britain. Having to decide between the selfish views of England, which would cause the Island of Cuba to be lost forever to civilization, and the policy of the United States, which at the same time that it affords protection to the inhabitants of that colony, tenders a large consideration for its acquisition, the cabinet of Madrid, for the sake of its own interests as well as those of its Spanish subjects, is bound to arrive at rational conclusions. It must doubtless reflect that the time is about to come when old Europe must renounce the possession of American territories. From the confines of Canada, to the straits of Magellan, the nations have become independent of European control, and they enjoy representative governments, with the exception however of the Guianás, which are too weak to maintain their independence. The immense region of Canada yet forms a part of the British dominions. In 1764, when France ceded that territory to England, its population consisted of about 60,000 souls; and there remained in the Peninsula of Acadia, but a few thousand inhabitants; for a great number, in violation of human and divine laws, had been ignominiously driven away by the British government, because they refused the oath of allegiance to the British crown, which would have required of them immediately after the oath to take up arms against their countrymen the Canadians. The Acadians, like the Canadians, are of Norman origin, with the exception of those from Brittany. It is easy to distinguish the two original types, among those of the Acadian and Canadian races who are to be found in Louisiana. The Normans in general are above the middle stature; they have blue eyes, with light and flat hair; the Britains are of lower

stature, with dark hair, small eyes, and very black eye balls. The Landry's for instance, whose clan is so numerous, the Hebérts, the Moutons, the Theriots, the Thibodeaux, and many others in Louisiana that might be cited, are of Norman descent. Any one who has travelled over Normandy must be satisfied of this fact. Whilst the Broussards, on the other hand, who overrun the prairies of Attakapas, like the grass hoppers that occupy the deserts of Africa, claim their descent from Britany. Their eyes, their hair, their shape, indicate it sufficiently. From those two races, no true British colonial subjects can issue. Out of the 1,400,000 souls that form the population of Canada, at least one million may be counted as descending from the Norman or Britain races.

The British government has understood the character of these descendants of the proud Normans and the Britains; it has conceived the necessity of granting them rights and franchises—such as the liberty of the press, the trial by jury, the *habeas corpus*, and a parliament. Besides, their property is exempted from taxation in favor of the British government. If Great Britain, deviating from her usual colonial policy, has made all these concessions in Canada, it must be assuredly from fear of the spirit of the Canadians and Acadians. The time is not far distant, when this noble people, renowned for the valor which it displayed in the wars from 1754 to 1759, as well as in the war of 1812 against the Americans, will proclaim its independence and organize as a nation. At the time of the insurrection which broke out in Canada in 1835, to be suppressed in 1837, martial law was decreed, and lord Harems launched forth the regular troops against the revolutionists. Thirteen respectable citizens were condemned to be hung, and many others to exile. Among the latter was Papineau. Those condemned to death, asked to be shot, but lord Harem rejected their application. The chevalier de Lorinière, a scion of an ancient family, established in Canada for more than two centuries, was among the victims. In 1839, I happened to meet, at the house of our Minister General Cass, in Paris, several well informed Canadians, who had been banished from Canada, on account of their political opinions. In answer to

some remarks which I made to them as to the movement of 1835 in Canada, these exiles told me that they desired neither to remain subject to England, nor to form a part of the American confederacy; that they had the sentiment of their strength, and that their population being constantly on the increase, they hoped that their immense territory would be occupied at some future day by a great nation, in whose bosom emigration from old Europe would seek a refuge.

Being myself of Norman descent, and my ancestor, before coming to Louisiana with d'Hiberville, in 1699, having served in the army of Canada, I confess that I was happy and proud to hear such language from these scions of ancient Normandy, of those conquerors of England, who produced renowned Knights for the Crusades, illustrious Generals for the ancient monarchy, as well as for the Republic and the empire, and who conquered Canada and the Louisianas.

The independence of Canada will occasion the loss to England of all the territories possessed by that power in North America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. They are almost equal in superficial extent to one third of the United States. I must mention here a fact which illustrates the character of the Norman race. From 1793 to 1795, whilst the Committee of Public Safety were erecting guillotines in the whole of France, except in Normandy, Fouquier-Tainville, the public prosecutor, communicated to Robespierre his intention of erecting the scaffold at St. Germain, a city situated at a distance of five leagues from Paris, on the line where Normandy commences—"beware of so doing!" exclaimed Robespierre, "the Normans must not be touched."

Can it be believed now, that these men, proud of their origin, glorying in the valor of their ancestors, are destined to remain subjects of England? No—assuredly not! When Canada will have become independent, and it must be so ere long, what will remain to old Europe on the American continent? the Guianas, (for the empire of Brasil is independent of Portugal); in the West Indies, St. Domingo and Jamaica are lost to the white race; in the French Isles, the emancipation and equality of the blacks have been for some time proclaim-

ed, as well as in the adjacent Islands, through the influence of British policy. In all these islands, the white race is no longer secure, and is compelled gradually to abandon them.

Cuba and Porto-Rico alone therefore, still offer a foothold to the white race. Is it probable that the cabinet of Madrid, by examining the past, and reflecting upon a future so easily foreseen, will not at last acknowledge that it is the true interest of Spain to transfer Cuba for an equivalent sum of money? Menaced as that island is, not only by the example of Jamaica in the South, of St. Domingo in the East, and in the North by the adventurers, who in despite of the laws and government of Washington, are likely to be tempted again to invade it, but endangered also as she is by England, the worst enemy of Spain in the Cuban question; since she desires by africanising Cuba, to withhold it from all civilized nations, and to expose its inhabitants to be slaughtered by the negroes. Yes, undoubtedly, the cabinet of Madrid will understand how delicate is the present position of Spain in regard to the Island of Cuba. But we must temporize; we must deal gently with castilian pride and nationality; above all, this important question should be argued with the best informed, and most influential men of Spain. In short let us follow the wise course adopted by Benjamin Franklin in Paris, at the time of the war of Independence, and it is probable that Spain, guided by her true interest will finally determine to sell Cuba to the United States.



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THIRD PART.

ON THE CHARGES MADE BY THE GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF WASHINGTON, IN REGARD TO ITS TERRITORIAL AGGRANDIZEMENTS.

In order to shew the little foundation for the accusation brought by the great European powers against the government of Washington, whom they charge with immoderate ambition, it becomes necessary not only to make a comparative statement of the aggrandizements of Russia, of England, and of France, with those of the United States, by taking the year 1764 as the point of departure,—but also to expose the means adopted both by the accusers and the accused, to attain the extension of their respective territories.

Russia, according to Pierre Charles Lévêque, a member of the French Institute, who wrote the history of that vast empire and of its government, contained, in 1764, nineteen millions of inhabitants.

Before dwelling more at length upon this subject, it is proper to sketch the character of the house of Romanof, beginning with Peter the 1st, called the Great. It would seem that nature exhausted herself, when she produced this great man; for, from the time of his death until the advent of Nicholas the 1st, we are amazed at the moral weakness, or the vices of that family. Alexis, son of Peter the 1st, was acknowledged as unworthy the throne by his own father, as well as by the grandies of the empire. He was a man abandonned to debauchery. Peter the 1st, having greatly promoted civilization, commerce and the arts of navigation and of war, among the Russians,

and fearing that his son would cause the nation to retrograde, caused him to be put to death: a great example of patriotism rather than of cruelty ! Peter the 1st died in 1725. Catherine, who was originally but an uneducated peasant girl, and whom he had married on account of her beauty and good sense, was proclaimed Empress. During her reign which lasted two years, her wisdom and benevolence obtained universal approbation. Catherine was not of the house of Romanof.

In 1727, Peter the 2d, of the Romanof family, was called to the throne. This sovereign at first fell under the influence of Menchikoff, and subsequently under that of the Dolgorouki. The commencement of his reign was marked by cruelties committed under the orders of Menchikoff. The disordered passions of Peter the 2d, his debaucheries and his love of alcoholic liquors, brought him to his death in 1730.

Anne, of the house of Romanof, ascended the throne in 1730. During her reign, she was entirely guided by Birene, a man of great cruelty and avarice, who committed great crimes in the name of this Empress. He caused to be put to death on the scaffold a number of respectable men in the nation, and banished many others to Siberia. Anne terminated her career in 1740. Ivan the 6th, of the Romanofs, succeeded her. He was at first governed by the duke of Courland, and afterwards gave himself up to revelry. Ivan was dethroned in 1741, after a reign of a year.

Elizabeth, of the house of Romanof, was next acknowledged as Empress. Although her amorous propensities brought her into disrepute in the eyes of her subjects, as well as in those of Europe, her reign was not altogether devoid of glory. None of her lovers (from the grandee to the Calmouk) was enabled to govern her. Addicted at first to dissipation and amorous intrigues, she fell into bigotry at a later period. Having become gloomy and superstitious, Elizabeth yielded to the grave in 1762.

Peter the 3d, of the Romanofs, was next proclaimed Emperor. His reign lasted about a year only. This prince, who was dissipated and incapable, after having been thrown into prison, was subsequently assassinated at the instigation of

Alexis Orloff. In order to keep secret the circumstances of his death, the report was spread that he had succumbed to an apoplectic fit. Peter the 3d met with much difficulty in obtaining a wife of Royal blood, and was reduced to marry the daughter of a petty Russian Prince of the town of Slettem, who was governor of that place under the authority of the king of Prussia, Frederic the 2d. Sophia Augusta was born on the 2d May, 1729. She was proclaimed Empress in 1762, and assumed the name of Catherine the 2d, which she was destined to render illustrious. It is therefore apparent that Catherine was not of the house of Romanof. This Princess, endowed with a solid and brilliant education, had deeply studied the different European governments; she was well versed in French literature, as well as in the history of the great kings and queens who had reigned during several centuries past, to wit: Elizabeth of England, Philip the 2d of Spain, Louis the 14th, Cromwell, under the title of Protector, Maria Theresa of Austria, and Frederic the 2d of Prussia, under the name of the Great Frederic. Catherine was rather handsome than pretty, she was of a graceful figure, and above the middle stature. She rode on horseback admirably well, and often reviewed in person her guards and her army. This Princess was well fitted to develop the immense resources of the great empire founded by Peter the 1st. surnamed the Great, and she had studied the maxims of that great monarch. She established military schools, and reorganized the naval school created by Elizabeth. She also founded colleges and universities, and fostered manufactures and general industry, by wise laws. She also made advantageous treaties with all the civilized nations of Europe, and despatched envoys to China and Persia. This woman, taking her part with unparalleled activity in public affairs, never relied upon her ministers; for she wished to convince Europe that she alone governed Russia. Catherine however was fond of pomp and pleasures, and chastity was not her distinguishing virtue; her first lover was Gregoire Orloff; but in order that he should deserve her favors, she required that he should render himself useful to Russia by important services. Orloff became distinguished particularly

in the armies, and was promoted to the grade of commander in chief of the artillery.

Catherine invited into the service of Russia distinguished military men from other nations, and adopted liberal measures for the protection of strangers who might be induced to establish themselves within her dominions. Accordingly, manufacturers and artisans of every description were attracted hither under the pledge of her protection; a great philosopher, a learned man and a distinguished writer, remarkable also for his moral character, (Laharpe) was entrusted by her with the education of her grand sons, and particularly with that of Alexander, who was destined to be the heir to her empire.

Immediately after ascending the throne, Catherine conceived great projects against Turkey. The only harbours that Russia then possessed were on the Baltic, whose navigation was interrupted or trammelled by the ice during six months in the year at least. In order to secure for the products of her dominions a great outlet to the Archipelago of Greece, to Egypt and to Asia, the possession of harbours on the Black sea and the sea of Azof was necessary to Russia. In order therefore to attract the attention of the Russians towards those favoured regions, Catherine bestowed the name of Constantine upon the second child of her son Paul. Europe was amazed at the genius displayed by this woman in the affairs of her government; and all statesmen were watching with interest the developments of her policy.

The reader will please to indulge me, in a digression which I have occasion here to make.

Among the officers in the service of Russia, there was one at the time by the name of Potemkin. Bold and gay, this officer passed for one of the handsomest men in the army. Not actuated by vanity, but influenced by a passion which love alone can nourish, Potemkin was so much captivated by the charms of Catherine, that he lost his senses. When he could not see his Sovereign, he stood in ecstasies before her portrait. He kissed the ground that her feet had trodden, and passed his nights in the open air, in order to contemplate by the light of the lamps the apartment occupied by the object of his

adoration. But Catherine, enamoured of the jealous Gregoire Orlof, pitied the new pretender, without giving him any hopes of a reciprocal sentiment.

War had just broken out; the Cosacks, the Calmoucks, the Tartars, who had often beaten the Russians before the reign of Peter the Great, had crossed the frontiers of Russia, and renewed their depredations. Those savage hords, numbering more than ten millions of souls, occupied a region extending to the base of the Caucasian mountains. The Russian army was put in motion to repel them. Potemkin, then a Colonel of Cavalry, left St. Petersburg, in the hopes of meeting with a glorious death, to put an end to his misery. The commander of the Russian army entrusted Potemkin with the command of a brigade of cavalry, at the head of which he charged the barbarians. Brave and expert in the management of the lance, he cried out the name of Catherine as he fought, and was invincible. The opposing hosts were swept away before this headlong knight, whom lead and steel could not reach. The reports of the General in chief to the cabinet of St. Petersburg mentioned the successes of Potemkin, and the exploits which he achieved under the influence of his passion for his Sovereign.

After some years of warfare, all those barbarian tribes having submitted, recognized Catherine as their Sovereign, and paid a tribute to Russia. The vast regions occupied by these Barbarians were covered with immense herds, of large broad tailed sheep. Their horned cattle were also innumerable, and were destined to supply the Russian leather, which is in such high repute, and which has become a great article of commerce.

Potemkin, on his return to St. Petersburg, became an object of admiration for the Russian women, who are generally handsome, amorous, and sometimes fickle. As the reward of his achievements, Potemkin was presented to Catherine. The emotion of the Knight cannot be described! scarcely was he ushered into the presence of his Sovereign, when he became timid and disconcerted; in lieu of a respectful inclination, he fell at her feet, and wept profusely. The great Catherine was moved; her heart had yielded, and the long tried fidelity, the true love of Potemkin triumphed at last. But the Knight lost

nothing of his restless spirit, and of his ardor for war. After having extended her conquests as far as the Caucasus; after having inured her army to the hardships of war, Catherine determined to wage the war against the Turks. She was in need of territories towards the South of Europe. It was for the second time, that the children of Mahomet, the proud Mussulmen, the devotees of the crescent, were about to encounter in battle the hosts of Russia. For at the period of their splendor, when they claimed to rule Europe, and to subdue christianity, the Mussulmen little thought of Russia, a rough and icy region, whose temperature was so different from that of the mild latitudes they inhabited.

Five hundred thousand Turks were brought under arms to meet the armies of Russia. The Mussulmen were proud of their former greatness, and of their achievements in war. They remembered that, for eight centuries, they had been masters of two thirds of Spain; that from victory to victory, they had led their hosts to within thirty leagues of Paris, in the time of Charles Martel, and that Soliman the Magnificent had planted the standards of the crescent before the walls of Vienna. Discipline had made no progress up to this time in the Turkish army, and was especially deficient in the field artillery; whilst the Russian troops whom they had to meet, had waged war with success under the reign of the empress Elizabeth, against the Prussian armies.

Catherine determined to shew to her subjects, that with her, devotion to country and love of glory were above the common foibles of her sex. She sacrificed her most tender affections, and addressed the following patriotic letter to Potemkin, accompanied by a sword bedecked with diamonds: "I entrust you with the command of the noblest and the most numerous army that Russia ever set on foot; go, and serve your country—Go, acquire glory, and be worthy of my affection. When my mind will not be engaged in the cares of my empire, my thoughts and my tears, Potemkin, will all be for you!"

It was therefore at the head of 300,000 soldiers that the Knight invaded the Turkish territories. This war was a gigantic struggle. Suwaroff, one of Potemkin's principal lieutenants,

tenants, distinguished himself equally by his valor and indefatigable activity. Together with great military renown, he acquired the affections of the Russian soldiery almost to idolatry. This truly extraordinary man shared in all respects the life of the soldier ; he slept upon the straw, eat of horse flesh, and preferred the most common drinks to the most luscious. Suwaroff, nevertheless, had received a good education. Louis the 18th, King of France, who had known him, says that Suwaroff had good manners, and was endowed with wit and an agreeable conversation.

It was the lot of this austere chieftain to terminate the war by an unparalleled exploit. Ismael, the most strongly fortified position in Turkey, was considered as impregnable. During the war, the Turks had still more strengthened its fortifications. Surrounded by ditches unusually deep and broad, this stronghold was defended besides by a formidable artillery. The Turks expected here a regular siege, such as had been previously laid before several fortresses that had surrendered. But time was precious, and things had to be brought hastily to a close. Provisions had become more and more scanty in the Russian army, and could scarcely be procured at all ; for the fields had been devastated, the towns and villages burnt. It was a war of extermination between the contending armies, one of which was composed of sanguinary barbarians, and the other, the Russian army, of men who had barely emerged from barbarism, since the death of Peter the Great. (1727).

The fierce Suwaroff made preparations to take Ismael by storm ; but before commencing the attack, he gave notice to the Turkish commander, that if he was compelled to this extremity, he would cause the whole garison of Ismael to be put to the sword. But the Turk made light of these threats ; he calculated upon a regular siege, which even if successful, was bound to last, as he thought, at least sixty days. Suwaroff then resolved to take Ismael within three days. He made an attack upon the fortress ; but his army was horribly mangled by the artillery of the enemy. On the second day, his losses were again fearful ; more than 20,000 men had been

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shot down. The fire of his veterans could not reach the Turks. During the night preceding the third day, forty thousand men were employed in gathering up the dead and the wounded to fill up a portion of the ditches of Ismael. What a horrid spectacle the third day presented! more than fifteen thousand corpses piled up at the feet of Ismael, and the Russian army, with bayonets pointed and Suwaroff at its head, using them as a bridge of human flesh, to cross the ditches that protected the fortress! Ismael fell into the hands of Suwaroff, and 35,000 men, officers and soldiers, were put to the sword. The remainder of the Turkish army, from this moment, were stricken with terror, and peace between Russia and Turkey was concluded on the 9th January 1792. This war lasted from 1787 to the end of 1791.

Assured that the capture of Ismael would put an end to the war, Potemkin confided his command to prince Reppin. He was impatient to return to Catherine; but in the long journey from Ismael to Moscow, the chieftain succumbed under a violent fever, at about a hundred leagues from that metropolis.

Russia, by the treaty of Diassy, on the 9th January, 1792, acquired Otschakof, and the whole country between the Bog and the Dniester. She obtained possession also of the mouth of a great river on the Black Sea, and an easy access to the Ottoman territories (see history of Russia by Charles Lévêque).

Catherine's ambition should have been satiated; but it did not suffice her to have extended her domination to the foot of the Caucasus, and to have considerably aggrandized her territories towards Turkey. At that period, the Cosacks of Siberia had crossed Bearing's straits, and had taken possession, in the name of Russia, of all that portion of North America, extending from the British boundaries to the North Pole (about one fifth of the United States in superficial extent). In these icy regions, the climate is about the same as in Siberia. Before fifty years, the Cosacks will occupy a great portion of those remote territories. They will procure there, as in Siberia, great quantities of furs of the beaver, otter, sable, &c., which are held in such estimation by the people of Asia and

Europe. This region must be favorable to grain crops, to wheat especially; and it is probable that, being separated from Siberia by a narrow channel, gold mines will at a future day be found in it, as in Siberia; quite as abundant as those of California and Australia, and more easily worked; for in Siberia, gold is gathered almost at the surface of the earth.

Catherine, whose ambition was unbounded, and supported by great genius, had long meditated the enlargement of her dominions towards the West. To this end, she took advantage of the dissensions in the Polish nation, after having had a previous understanding with Frederic the 2d, of Prussia, and with Austria. The first partition of Poland consequently took place in 1772.

In 1792, France was involved in her great revolution. The unfortunate Louis the 16th was confined in the prison of the Temple, with his wife and children. The French princes, and the nobility urgently solicited the courts of Europe to take up arms against France, and to save Louis the 16th. These solicitations were unheeded by Catherine, who understood full well that she could not add anything to her possessions from Germany, who had engaged in the war against France, and still less from Italy, owing to the great distance between that country and Russia. Besides, Catherine was not satisfied with the first division of Poland; she desired a larger share of it, than that which she had obtained. This princess, who had conceived the annihilation of the Polish nation, at last carried into execution her awful and daring project. The whole territory of Poland was therefore subdivided between Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795. But Catherine, on this occasion, took the lion's share of the spoils, for two thirds of that kingdom fell into the hands of Russia.

The great Catherine was preparing for a war against Persia; but the death of Potemkin, the object of her dearest affections, distracted her mind. In the delirium of her grief, she cried out that she wished to die, in order again to behold Potemkin. Stricken by apoplexy, she closed her career, on the 9th November 1776, at the age of sixty-seven, and after a reign of thirty-three years.

Her son succeeded her to the throne, under the name of Paul the 1st, and ruled during four years. The versatility of his disposition, the weakness of his mind, caused his death by assassination. On his death, his son, Alexander the 1st, was called to the empire. The mildness of temper of this prince, the success of his arms when Russia was invaded by France in 1813 and '14, contributed to distinguish his reign.

Independently of the vast accessions of territory made by Catherine, Russia has continued to enlarge her dominions: she has taken possession of the whole of Livonia, of Finland, and has extended her sway along the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azof, encroaching also upon Persia. Now, this insatiable power is warring again upon Turkey, for quite another cause assuredly than that which her diplomacy has proclaimed to the world. Her armies already occupy the Danubian provinces and threaten Constantinople. Finally, Russia, in 1764, contained but 19,000,000 of inhabitants; and now numbers more than 75,000,000!

In view of this historical statement of the aggrandizements of Russia, and of the means to attain them, employed by her successive rulers; who would not feel indignant to hear Nicholas, the autocrat, taxing the United States with ambition, and casting reproach upon them for their territorial aggrandizements? The population of the Russian empire, which is susceptible of containing more than 300 millions of inhabitants, is increasing from day to day, and imagination is at a loss in calculating its great destinies, and the influence which it may come to exercise upon Western Europe. But if the writer turns his thoughts to the past, his attention is called to the general rising of the Spaniards in 1808. They were the first to throw a cloud upon the star of Napoleon, the ruler of all Europe. It may be therefore, that the Turks; better prepared for the struggle than the Spaniards were, will repel the Muscovite; that their noble resistance will arouse the Poles and the Hungarians, and that these long oppressed nations will achieve their independence, and save Europe from the cruel fate which Russia may inflict upon it before a half century has elapsed.

FOURTH PART.

We must now speak of England, who, when the question of the annexation of Texas to the United States arose, maintained that the ideas of aggrandizement entertained by the cabinet of Washington, were unjust and dangerous.

In 1764, by the treaty of Fontainbleau, France had ceded to England Canada and all that she possessed in North America, with the exception of the territories on the right bank of the Mississippi. The portion of Louisiana, extending from the Perdido, four leagues from Pensacola, and following the Gulf, the lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas, and the bayou Manchac to the Mississippi, was included in this cession. Spain, on her side, gave up Florida, which extended to the limits of Georgia.

After the war of American Independence, England lost all that she possessed south of Canada and to the left of the Mississippi. But there remains to that power, in North America, the Canadas, and an immense territory extending west of them to the Pacific, where it is bounded, North, by the Russian possessions. She has preserved the Peninsula of Acadia, the Isle Royal, the Bermudas and New-Providence in the channel of the Bahamas, as well as Jamaïca, which she possessed previously to 1764, and some islands among the Caraïbs. In the beginning of the 18th century, during the reign of Philip the 5th, of Spain, she took from the Spanish crown Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, which she at first pretended to hold in trust, but which she has permanently kept. Australia, of which she at first possessed but a part, now belongs to her in whole. This island is as large as two thirds of Europe.

She has also taken by force of arms a large portion of Asia, (Hindustan) where 150 millions of inhabitants bend the knee to her despotism. She possesses the Islands of Ceylon, and St. Helena, as well as different positions for her counting-houses in Africa, and the isles in the Channel.

By the peace of Paris, in 1814, Holland gave up to her the Cape of Good Hope; and France ceded the Isle of France. By the same treaty, she acquired the Ionian Islands, including Corfu. Her possession of Malta, as well as of Trinity in the Caraïb Islands, was confirmed by the treaty of Amiens in 1802. In 1814, France also ceded to her St. Lucia and Dominica. England possesses nearly all the maritime positions that are not within the continental limits of Europe, of South America, or of the United States of America; she has her arsenals every where. By calling into service her transatlantic steamers, and arming them for war, her naval armament could number more ships, than those of all the other powers of the world combined. England has extended her dominions almost invariably with the sword in one hand, and often with the torch in the other. The colonial system of England is unjust and sometimes cruel.

Does it come with good grace from this power, I ask, to find fault with the territorial aggrandizements of the United States?



FIFTH PART.

FRANCE.

This power, in 1809, had annexed to her territory upper Italy, as far as the Julian Alps, Ancient Venice, Rome and her dependencies, Belgium, Savoy and Piedmont; her influence extended over Switzerland, and the confederation of the Rhine. Holland, conquered by the French arms, had surrendered her liberties, and been converted into a kingdom for the benefit of Louis Buonaparte. Naples was given to Murat, after his marriage with the princess Caroline, one of Napoleon's sisters. Bavaria was enlarged by territory taken from Austria, after the battle of Austerlitz, in 1805. The Elector Maximilian, having become a king, gave his daughter in marriage to Eugene Beauharnais. At the same period, the territory of Wirtemberg was also increased at the expense of Austria, and its Elector being made a king, subsequently married his daughter to Jerome Buonaparte.

Portugal, after being subdued, was governed by the Duke d'Abrantés, one of Napoleon's lieutenants. These numerous aggrandizements were still further extended by new conquests, after the battles of Austerlitz in 1805, of Jena, of Friedland, of Eylau, which occasioned the treaty of Tilsitt in 1807, and after that of Wagram in 1809. The influence of Austria and of Prussia, the two great powers of Germany, was so much reduced by the curtailment of their territories, that Napoleon, after having, at their expense, transformed Wirtemberg, Bavaria and Saxony into kingdoms, increased the

territory of Baden; and created the kingdom of Westphalia in favor of his brother Jerome, became the comptroller of Germany.

But Napoleon should have considered that, although it is sometimes quite easy to defeat armies and to dictate treaties, it is always difficult to amalgamate different nations, and to destroy nationalities. He should have remembered that the Netherlands, having revolted against the dominion of Philip the 2d, of Spain, had routed the veteran troops of Spain, and reconquered their independence. During the reign of Philip the 4th, the Portuguese had also thrown off the yoke. From these examples, he might have foreseen that the Germans would take advantage of the first opportunity to rise against the rulers who had been forced upon them, and against the despotism of the man who had destroyed their nationality. The crown of Spain was about being bestowed upon Joseph Buonaparte, when the Spaniards revolted. This example was successively followed by all the nations of Europe; and it was under the banner of the independence of nations, that the allied sovereigns recruited innumerable armies. England, who had been on the point of succumbing, was found everywhere in the contest, and afforded subsidies to all. It was a war of extermination—Paris against London;—Rome against Carthage. But in this contest, Carthage triumphed. Hannibal defeated in the battle of Zama, was compelled to flee his country, and was assassinated in a foreign land.

By the treaty of 1814, Napoleon, who had swayed the continent of Europe, and caused England to tremble, was confined in the Island of Elba. In 1815, St. Helena became the prison of his exile. After five years of moral tortures inflicted upon him by his jailor, sir Hudson Lowe, his physical constitution being at last exhausted, this great man, and great chieftain, descended to the grave. The death of Napoleon at an age when life is usually in its prime, was the occasion of much comment. It was generally thought that he had succumbed to poison.—Erroneous impression! Providence, who had shielded him in a hundred battles, did not protect his veterans against the burning sun of Spain, nor the snows of Russia.

—His destiny was to yield as it were to the combined elements, and not to the steel of his enemies. His exile to St. Helena was necessary to himself, to his cotemporaries, and to posterity. He there wrote the story of his wonderful campaigns; he there spoke of his greatness, as well as of his errors, and made known his opinions as to the high destinies of the United States, and the dangers with which the west of Europe was threatened at the hands of Russia. "In fifty years," said he, "Europe will be Republican or Cosack." Fifty years have scarcely elapsed, and Europe is in arms! Europe is on fire!

After having uttered this great prophecy; after having written out his campaigns and the glorious events of his reign, should Napoleon have lived any longer upon the rock of St. Helena? No! death had become the fitting close of his wonderful career, the only relief to his sufferings. God then issued the decree: "Let him die!... he has been a mighty Emperor,... the son of a king, Joinville will come, on a future day, with Bertrand, Gourgaud, Las Cases and Marchand, the companions of his exile, to take possession of his body, and carry it back to the banks of the Seine—Let him die!... he will have for a winding sheet the tricolored banner, which he caused to wave from the steeples of Lisbon to the towers of the Kremlin. Let him die!... he has been a king of kings... and beneath the dome of the Invalides, he shall be received by king Louis Philippe.—Let him die!—whilst the Princes of the church, the Bishops and Archbishops, will invoke the heavens in his behalf; whilst they will prepare the holy water to be cast upon his inanimate corpse,—the old soldiers of the Invalides, stooping upon their crutches,—the Marshals and Generals of the Empire, leaning upon their swords, will sprinkle with their tears his mortal remains."

Reader, answer:—Should he have lived any longer, on St. Helena's rock, in the hands of the executioner?

SIXTH PART.

THE UNITED STATES.

I have gone into some details as to the territorial expansions of England, France and Russia; let us now return to the territorial aggrandizements of the United States.

Convinced that she could not advantageously apply the colonial system to Louisiana, France offered it to the government of Washington for 80 millions of francs; and it was purchased. At a later period, Spain perceiving that the Floridas were a useless burthen to her, also bargained them off with the United States for five millions of dollars, and the amount was paid. Texas, whose independence had been recognized by England and France, and subsequently by other nations, desired to become a member of the American Union. She needed ten millions of dollars to meet the debts she had contracted during the war with Mexico: the government of Washington gave her the amount. After the annexation of Texas to the United States, the Mexicans were the aggressors: they crossed the Rio-Grande and murdered several American officers. Hence, as I have said, the war and our successes. Instead of keeping forcible possession of any portion of the conquered territories; instead of exacting from Mexico the costs of the war, the cabinet of Washington intimated the desire of acquiring New Mexico, a region which had never been of any utility to the Mexican Republic, and whose inhabitants were constantly exposed to the depredations of the Comanches, together with California, which scarcely numbered more than fifteen hundred inhabitants. The Mexican

government acquiesced in the proposition, for the consideration of fifteen millions of dollars which were paid to it.

If the history of nations be consulted, can there be found one, which has enlarged its domain by means more honorable or more just, than those which have been hitherto practised by the American people?

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WETA, 5 days in all

SEVENTH PART.

OF THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES UPON THE WORLD.

The power of the United States government all over the world, lies in its moral influence, which cannot be diminished, for it is based upon our institutions, and does not depend upon the caprices of men. The writers who have commented upon the wisdom of these institutions, have shewn to the world, that with the American people, nothing is above man, but God and the law.

France became agitated. The study, and the knowledge of American institutions gave rise, in that nation, to "the Meeting of the Notables, the States General, the National Assembly, the rights of man, the liberty of the press, equality under the laws, abolition of feudal privileges, &c." The revolution produced by the struggle between the privileged classes and the Third Estates, was awful, and civil war brought forth many crimes; but France nevertheless is freer, and more prosperous at this day than she was in 1789. Her commerce, her manufactures and agriculture, have made immense progress—public education has spread its blessings—and her population, which amounted to 25,000,000 only, before the revolution, has increased to 37,000,000.

The principles of liberty have often been attacked there, but they prevailed however during the reigns of Louis the 18th and Louis Philip. They are now suppressed by an iron hand; but this can be but momentary. Men may change or die;—the roots of the tree of liberty cannot be destroyed.

Now, let us examine the course of all nations that have been strong enough to shake off the yoke of despotism and to

attain independence, and let us see whether they have resorted to absolutism, or to representative governments. Belgium, Holland, Piedmont, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, have adopted Constitutions, and the principles of two representative bodies, and of the Jury in criminal affairs. The liberty of the press is subjected in its extent to special laws. Where have these principles been resorted to? Is it in Russia or in Austria?—No.

South America has shaken off the thralldom of Spain. From the Rio-Grande to the straits of Magellan, republican governments have been established, modelled upon that of the United States—with the exception however of Brazil, which is governed under a monarchical constitution, similar to that of Portugal or of Spain.

A few years only have elapsed, since the star spangled banner has been planted upon the shores of the Pacific. The Chinese who have resorted to those regions, have translated into their language the doctrines of our institutions, and communicated them to the inhabitants of the celestial empire—and China is already involved in a revolution! If liberal principles should triumph there, before thirty years, all Asia will have proclaimed them.

In presenting these views of the moral influence exercised upon the world by our institutions and the government of Washington, my object has been to expose the error and absurdity of the principles of armed intervention set up by certain agitators in the Congress of 1851 and '52. These declaimers have taken good care to keep from the eyes of the people the account of expenditures that would be occasioned by the carrying out of such principles, and the consequences that might result to the American people.



EIGHTH PART.

The American people, consisting of 24,000,000 of souls, could not take part in a war upon the European continent, with less than a force of 50,000 men, of whom six thousand of cavalry. What immense equipments would be required? What quantities of provisions, bread stuffs and forage! At least 300 ships would be required in the transportation of such an army and its equipments. And, as such a distant expedition over the seas would have to be escorted, a corresponding increase in our national navy would be necessary. Victors or vanquished, our troops would have to be brought back to the United States, which would require new armaments. We would have also to contend against the navy of the power with which we had engaged in war. Privateers would cover the seas; our commerce and agriculture would be paralyzed, our cottons, tobacco, bread stuffs and sugar, would lose their value. Should such a war last but five years, it would cost more than a thousand millions to the government of the United States and its citizens. In view of such a picture, of the consequences of an armed intervention in European affairs, and which is by no means exaggerated, it is difficult to conceive that there have been in the United States agitators bold enough and mad enough, to proclaim and maintain such dangerous doctrines.

Citizens of the American Union! cherish and enjoy in peace your prosperity and your wise institutions; the great questions which gave rise to the spirit of party—the protective tariff, the annexations of territory, the United States Bank, are now settled, and brought to an end. The compromise of 1850, has allayed the passions of the North and of

the South; the difficulties solved by this act were great and portentous—they might have brought on the dissolution of the Union.

The Compromise of 1850, an imperishable monument of wisdom, was for the greater part, the work of an illustrious citizen—of an aged man; who, after having usefully devoted fifty years of his life to the service of his country, had retired from public affairs. Although I did not participate in all his political opinions, I ever admired his noble virtues, his great talents, and his warm eloquence. This great citizen and sage, on hearing that Kentucky, alarmed at the portentous questions of the day, had summoned him from his retirement, that his mighty voice might be again heard in the United States Senate, obeyed the call, and repaired to the Capitol. There, when the crisis arose, all were astonished to see his eyes glowing again with the fire of patriotism, as in his youthful days, his physical strength revived, and his moral powers developed anew. It was not a question of party in which he struggled for success, it was one of general and vital interest. His patriotic eloquence attained its ends—all were moved and captivated by it. But these were the last notes of the swan. His physical powers, exhausted by his great labors, soon abandoned him, and he reclined to rise no more. Death respected yet for some brief days the head as well as the genius of the patriot statesman. It seized only upon his feet, which it congealed. It was in this condition of suffering that he received the visit of Kossuth, the hungarian revolutionary leader. Extending to him his hand, he uttered these noble words: "I deplore the calamities of your country, but our institutions, as well as the admonitions of the immortal Washington, forbid us all armed interventions—all foreign alliances, offensive or defensive. They enjoin upon us only to recognize existing governments, as we find them in other countries. We are indebted to these wise precepts for the consideration which we enjoy abroad, as well as for the progress of our population, our commerce and our agriculture." These words were soon transmitted to all parts of the Union by the electric telegraph. They became impressed upon the

mind of almost every citizen. A few days afterwards, HENRY CLAY expired.

It is near Lexington, in Kentucky, that the remains of this great man repose. The eloquent men of Kentucky combined to write his epitaph: by common consent, they determined to inscribe upon his tomb . . . HENRY CLAY.

The citizens of the United States, of whatever origin, who find this mausoleum before them, incline their heads with respect;—the Kentuckian approaches it slowly, kneels, and mingles with his tears the name of HENRY CLAY.



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respect;—the Kentuckian approaches it slowly, kneels, and
mingles with his tears the name of Henry Clay.



TO MY FELLOW CITIZENS.

I have already declared my intention to continue my history of Louisiana under the French, Spanish and American governments. To bring to an end a work susceptible of such details, several years are required; for it is not only proper to tell of the achievements and the misfortunes of the knights who, through many a conflict, conquered Louisiana from the fierce and warlike Indians, and to record the names of those, who, victims of their courage, were burnt alive by the cruel savages;—but it is becoming also to speak of the self-sacrifices, and of the martyrdom of those holy Missionaries, who, in the attempt to convert the savages to Christianity, were treated as imposters, and condemned to the stake. Thence, passing in review the different governments that have existed in Louisiana, and their effects, it will be necessary to speak of the causes that brought on the sad catastrophe of the 25th October 1769, in which Lafrenière, Marquis, de Noyan, Millet and Carresse, were put to death by the orders of O'Reilly,—and to make known the infamous conduct of the last French commandant, Charles Aubry, who became the accuser of his countrymen. After having shewn that O'Reilly exceeded the powers conferred upon him by Charles the 3d, king of Spain, I shall record the heroism of a fair creole, Madam de Lafrenière, who unable to save the life of her husband, obtained from O'Reilly that Lafrenière and his companions in misfortune should be shot, in lieu of the punishment of the rope to which they had been condemned.

To move the heart of this cannibal, clothed in the uniform of Lieutenant-General of the king, Madam de Lafrenière, after having stated that she was the grand daughter of the *chevalier* d'Arensbourg, one of the heroes of Sweden, and former aid-de-camp to Charles the 12th who for some years had ruled over the North of Europe, represented to him the horror of such a punishment, and the humiliation that would be inflicted upon her noble race—upon the old companion in

arms of king Charles the 12th,—“my grand sire,” exclaimed the noble woman, “will die of shame and grief! do not disgrace us by an infamous punishment!”—“you may retire Madam,” answered O’Reilly, “I will take your prayer into consideration.” Accordingly, the mode of execution was changed.

Such is the slight outline of the work which I propose. Having nearly attained the age of seventy; having lost my fortune and independence, it is an arduous task which I undertake.

Reader, I solicit in advance your indulgence, in view of the motives which renovate my strength and make me almost forget my years and my troubles. I venture to hope that Providence will aid me, and that my moral energies will not be wanting.

I also hope, my beloved countrymen, that you will say, at some future day: “We have read the work of old Bernard Marigny—we have recognized therein his patriotism. To noble hearts, the native land is ever dear.”

New Orleans, May 10th, 1854.



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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

DOCUMENTS.

RESOLUTION
FOR THE PURCHASE OF THE POLITICAL
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,
BY BERNARD MARIGNY.

Whereas the Honorable Bernard Marigny has written a work upon the Political History of the United States, from 1784 to the present time, showing the aggrandizement of the United States as compared with the kingdoms of England, Russia and France under the Republic and under the Empire, containing also a variety of statistics of the kingdom of Spain and the Island of Cuba, and the means which could be employed to induce Spain to sell the Island of Cuba to the United States:

And considering that parts of said work have been read by Mr. Marigny in the French language in the Hall of the House of Representatives, to a large number of the members of the Legislature, who think that the work translated and published in the English Language, would be advantageous to the State and the United States: Therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana in General Assembly convened: That the Governor be and he is hereby authorized to subscribe for one thousand copies of said work, viz: five hundred copies in English, and five hundred copies in French; and that the sum of one dollar be paid to said Bernard Marigny for each and every copy of said work, on the warrant of the Auditor of Public Accounts, out of any monies not otherwise appropriated.

[Signed] JNO. M. SANDIDGE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

[Signed] W. W. FARMER,
Lieut. Governor and President of the Senate.

Approved March, 15th, 1854.

[Signed] P. O. HEBERT,
Governor of the State of Louisiana.

[OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.]

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true and correct copy of the resolution entitled "Resolution for the purchase of the Political History of the United States, by Bernard Marigny," approved March 15th, 1854. Given under my hand and the seal of the State, at Baton Rouge, this 16th day of March, A. D. 1854.

ANDREW S. HERRON,

Secretary of State.

LEGISLATURE OF MISSISSIPPI.

Memorial of the Legislative Council and of the House of Representatives of the Mississippi territory.—5th January 1803.

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES.

Your petitioners beg leave to express their sentiments in relation to an event, by which the interests of Western America in general, and of this territory in particular, are materially affected. The treaty of San Lorenzo had guaranteed the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a convenient place of deposit thereon to American merchants, for their goods and merchandize. It politically incorporated this region with the rest of the United States. We beheld our commerce flourishing, our prosperity rapidly increasing, and congratulated ourselves in being the free and happy citizens of an Independent Republic. Relying upon the national faith for the preservation of these privileges, acquired as they were by express stipulations, we had indulged the hope that this prosperity would be lasting. The motives which have induced the Spanish government to deny us this place of deposit, are a subject of conjecture—but it cannot be doubted that the act in itself is a violation of the treaty contracted with that nation.

A recent order of the government of Louisiana has been promulgated, by which all communications between citizens of the United States, and subjects of Spain, are prohibited. This order, has occasioned new trammels upon our commerce, and

seems inspired by sentiments still more hostile to the United States, than the preceding one.

Your petitioners, confiding in the energy, the wisdom and the justice of the general government, remain convinced that it will refuse no aid, which the circumstances demand. As to ourselves, we offer to our country, our lives and our fortunes, to support such measures as Congress may deem adviseable, to maintain the honor, and to defend the interests of the United States.

[Signed] W. G. TORMAN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN ELLIS—President of the Council.

A N. ADDRESS

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

January 1803.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the western country, respectfully represent, that the port of New Orleans has been closed against us, by a decree of the Spanish Intendant: that we are indebted to the United States for taxes arrearred, and for current taxation, and that we have no means to meet them, but the products of our farms—that these must rot in our barns, excluded as we are from a market in the East, unless the government consents to receive them at a reasonable price, or resolves to protect us in the enjoyment of a legitimate commerce;—that we humbly deem prompt and decisive measures to be necessary—the maxim that "*allegiance and protection* are reciprocal," being peculiarly applicable to our position. Whilst declaring our confidence in the government of the Union, and giving assurance of our cooperation in all measures that may be adopted to vindicate the just rights of every portion of the United States, we must assert that we have the right to demand, and we do ask, that the government should adopt the measures necessary to guarantee us in the exercise of a legitimate trade, or that it should relieve us at once of all tribute whatever. Without interfering in the measures which may be adopted to bring about the amicable arrangement of a difficulty which has arisen from the gratui-

ious violation of a solemn treaty, we desire it to be explicitly understood by the United States—that our situation is critical; that the delay of a single season would be ruinous to our section of country, and that, consequently, we may be compelled by an imperious necessity, unless relief be obtained, to adopt among ourselves the measures we may judge necessary for the protection of our commerce, even should such measures be productive of unfavorable consequences to the harmony of the confederation.

LETTER WRITTEN FROM NEW ORLEANS, IN 1803.

The French Prefect has arrived. His professions towards the Americans are for the present quite friendly. But I presume that after the establishment of the French government, his tone will change. He awaits the arrival of General Victor and the French troops, before entering upon his administration. Every expedient will be adopted, to keep us quiet under delusive hopes. All the inhabitants of the place, with the exception of a few creoles, ardently wish that the people of the West should resort to energetic measures.

A place of deposit is still denied us: we have the finest opportunity to procure indemnity for the past, and security for the future. If we fail to take advantage of it, I fear that it will never occur again. A handful of men could take this place; they would meet with little or no resistance. You would be astonished to see the great interest which is felt here in the future prospects of our nation, and the enthusiasm with which the speeches of our senators, who urged that the country should be immediately seized, are read and reported.

I urgently ask that the militia of the West should be armed and equipped without delay—so that a moment should not be lost to put us in a position to secure our own safety. Our enemies charge us with a want of public spirit. The Spaniards who are established here, perceive the precipice to the brink of which their government has been brought by the intrigues of French policy: and like men in despair, they dare

not look at the future. They are impatient of our delays; they often express surprise at our moderation and pusillanimity.

I fear that our plan of negotiation may produce nothing but delay. If it should not succeed, I shall lament the unfortunate consequences, to our degraded country.

GIFT OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA, TO THE FAMILY OF THE LATE
THOMAS JEFFERSON, AS A TESTIMONIAL OF ITS GRATITUDE TO HIM
WHO FROM A DEPENDANT COLONY, HAD RAISED IT TO THE
POSSESSION OF A FREE STATE, &c.

When Thomas Jefferson had ceased to live, testimonials of public affection reached his family from all quarters, with offerings presented by legislatures bodies, and committees formed in the principal cities. These proofs of universal gratitude towards a departed patriot, came to contradict from all quarters the charge of ingratitude which has so often been brought against Republics.

Henry Johnson, then governor of Louisiana, addressed a message on this subject, to the House of Representatives of the State. In the report of the committee thereon, are the following words; "Thomas Jefferson, one of the principal founders of those liberal institutions that are the envy of other nations, has died in poverty. He, who has so greatly contributed to the establishment of our social edifice, is entitled to the gratitude of all the States of the Union; but Louisiana, is above all others, indebted to him: it was he, who, from a dependent colony, made her a free State, &c."

In accordance with this report, the legislature on the 16th March, 1827, passed an act as follows:

"Thomas Jefferson, after a life devoted to the service of his country, and of the human race, has died, leaving to his children as their only heritage, the example of his virtues, and the gratitude of the people, whose independence he proclaimed to the world. The Legislature of Louisiana, a State acquired

to the Union by his wisdom and foresight, and indebted to him for its political and civil liberty—in order to perpetuate the remembrance of its profound respect for the talents and virtues of this great public benefactor, has, through the Senate and House of Representatives of Louisiana, enacted this law, in order that the sum of ten thousand dollars be paid to Thomas Jefferson Randolph—the revenues thereof, to be enjoyed by the widow, and to be transmitted through her to the heirs.”



ERRATA.

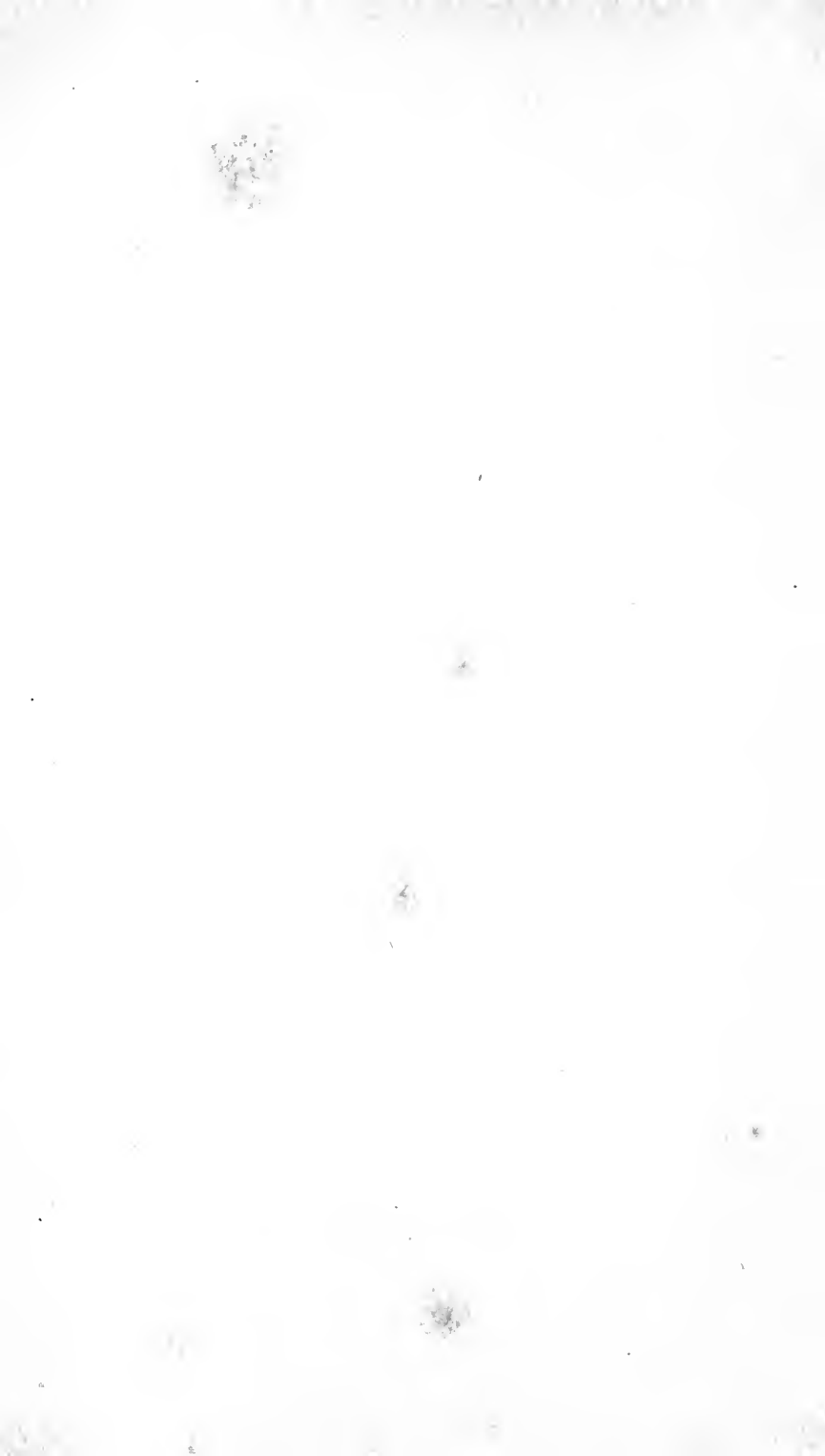
To the page 5, line 23, instead of 1851 *read* 1850.

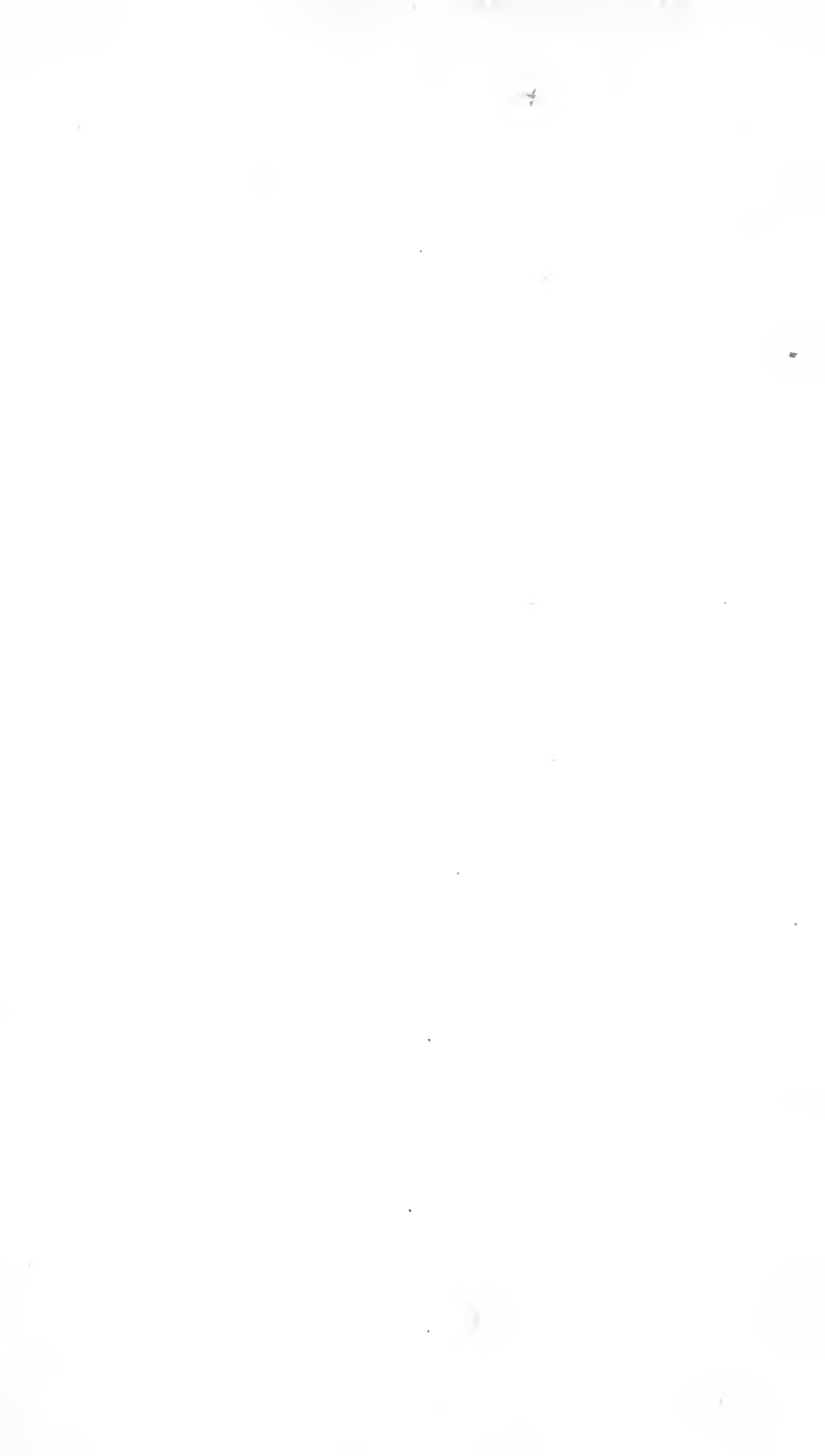
To the page 29, line 38, instead of Beresford *read* Witelock.

ATTENTION

To the Editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association
and the Board of Directors of the American Medical Association







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